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MATTHEW PARKER

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AY 17 was the 350th anniversary of the death of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, who not only took a great part in the settlement of the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church, and stabilized the situation after the violent oscillations under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, but also was one of the founders of great libraries which have endured. His reputation depends upon things more memorable than the fable of the Nag's Head Tavern, and his name is honoured by scholars for his collection and preservation of national documents of priceless value. There are many details of his life, to be gathered from his letters and collected papers, which are possibly not well known; these may, I hope, justify an attempt to picture again this great and lovable character.

There is preserved in the bursary of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a little roll of parchment, on which Parker entered the main events of his life up to the time of his consecration, together with some reflections at certain crises

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 19 October 1925. The biographical section of the paper formed part of an oration given at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, on the 350th anniversary of Parker's death, printed in full in *Theology* (July 1925).

of his career ; this roll was apparently not given to the College by Parker, but was procured and presented later by Archbishop Tenison. In it Parker states that he entered the College on 8 September 1522, in the seventeenth year of his age ; this must be wrong, if, as he says, he was born on 6 August 1504. Strype's date for his entry is 1520, which is again incorrect, the proper date being 1521 ; this is proved by an endorsement in Parker's hand on a document of Stephen Gardiner, dated 1521, ' hoc anno in festo nativitatis beatae Mariae M.P. accessit Cantabrigiam '. He was entered ' sub tutore R^o Cowper, artium mro sed parum docto ', and instructed in dialectics and philosophy, living first in St. Mary's Hostel and, after his appointment on the foundation as a Bible-clerk, in College ; he became Fellow in 1527, proceeding to M.A. and the priesthood in the same year.

His studies in divinity and his acceptableness as a preacher won him such reputation as a scholar and divine that Cardinal Wolsey gave him an invitation, which was declined, to join the staff of the new Cardinal College at Oxford. In 1535 he began his connexion with the Court, when he was appointed chaplain to Anne Boleyn and, later, Dean of her College of Stoke-by-Clare. There was evidently some Norfolk tie between the unfortunate Queen and Parker, as he hints at this in letters to Sir William Cecil : ' yea, if I had not been so much bound to ' the mother, I would not so soon have granted to serve the ' daughter ' : ' the truth is, as well for Almighty God's commandment, for that she is now my prince, as for the last ' words that ever Her Majesty's mother spake to me concerning ' her, being her poor countryman, I have as much cause to ' wish well to Her Majesty as any other whatsoever. ' The execution of Anne made no difference to Parker's career, as in the following year he became chaplain to the King, and in 1544 was elected Master of Corpus as the result of royal commendatory letters. How Parker had spent his time at

Cambridge we cannot say definitely, except that we may be sure from the copious quotations in his letters that he read with care the Fathers of the Church and the Scriptures, and interpreted the latter with full consideration of the interpretation which the Fathers had put upon them. These studies probably prevented him from adopting the extreme views of some of the reformers, but did not prevent him from living on terms of intimacy and affection with them, and from running personal risks in doing so; thus he attended the martyr, Thomas Bilney, at his burning at Norwich in 1531, and defended his memory against the attacks of Sir Thomas More.

But besides being a man of religion and scholarship, he was pre-eminently a man of affairs and statesmanship. This is attested by his draft of some answers sent to the Lord Chancellor in 1539 to meet accusations presented against him by the townsmen of Clare, near to his College of Stoke; incidentally the document shows Parker's attitude towards ceremonies and relics to be not unlike that of Erasmus. He points out that the meaning of Easter processions was 'to declare and testify openly to the world that they would henceforth follow Christ in their conversation'. 'Upon Relic-Sunday I declared to them what were the true relics which we should worship, and moved them not to put their trust in the holiness and virtue of men's bones and coats, whereof we have no certainty whether they be relics of saints or no; . . . to forget the mystery of Christ's cross and fall to the worship of the tree of the cross was a superstitious worship and reprov'd of' the Fathers. During the Pilgrimage of Grace he says that he thought it his duty to go to the town 'to courage their hearts with God's word to serve their Prince in withstanding such traitors as was then risen, and in my sermon I inveighed against sedition and declared the authority of a Prince'. Parker has endorsed the draft: 'These articles objected were thus answered by M.P. and

'sent to the lord chancellor, which heard, he blamed the promoters and sent word that I should go on and fear no such enemies.'

The same capacity for affairs was shown in every office which he held. At Stoke he drew up a new set of statutes for the college and founded a school for the singing-boys; at Corpus he wrote out with his own hand inventories of the college goods and terriers of the estates, showing the amounts of the rents and the times of payments, and also revised the statutes; as Vice-Chancellor he devised a new method of keeping the University accounts. Most of these documents are now in the College library, having come there as part of the Archbishop's donation of his MS. collection; this throws a light upon one feature of his character, his acquisitiveness for all kinds of official documents. In these days we should consider such papers as belonging to the office and not to the temporary holder of it, and should not deal with them as personal property: it may be that this practice did not prevail in Parker's day; if it did, he deliberately departed from it, as distrusting the safety of documents under such conditions; but that his action was not always approved is made likely by the final entry in the University Grace Book B, which runs: 'Anno sequenti electus Mattheus parker S. theologie professor in vicecancellarium qui novum librum ratiociniorum fieri fecit et hunc in cistam communem imposuit': then there follows in a later hand this addition: 'sed illinc surreptum et postea in manibus M.P.' This document is now in the Corpus library.

It was inevitable that a man of Parker's capacity should become Vice-Chancellor; he had served not infrequently as deputy, and was elected Vice-Chancellor in 1545 and 1548. It has always been, and still is, the duty of the senior esquire bedell to inform the person elected, and we have the letters which were written to Parker by John Mere on the two

occasions. Mere was a very old friend, of whose will Parker was subsequently a supervisor; and in that capacity he covenanted with the University for the foundation of the Mere commemoration sermon which is still preached on the Wednesday in Easter week, the day of Mere's death in 1558. Mere's letter of 1545 is worth quoting in part, as showing the gossip of the day and the terms on which Mere and Parker lived: 'Right worshipful, in most hearty wise I have me commended unto your worship, certifying the same that it hath pleased the University to choose you unto the office of Vice-Chancellor, and Mr proctors be very desirous to have you at home to be admitted. Doctor Smith gave over his office on Saturday at ix of the clock and you were chosen on Sunday at iii of the clock. Doctor Ridley and Doctor Standysh were named unto the office, and it was thought that there hath been labouring for them this se'nnight or fortnight; but very suddenly, even on the Sunday, all the labouring for them was turned unto very importunate labour for Mr Atkinson vice provost; but he came nothing nigh you. . . . It was a very great house; the number of regents were four score and xviii.' The letter closes with messages to members of Parker's family by name and with this sentence: 'Deus te servet: per cujus filium, ut rebus ex sententia gestis corpore pariter ac animo cito nobis redeas incolumis percipide optarem precaborque assidue.' Attached to the letter is the record of the voting, as made at the time, showing seventy-nine votes for Parker, five for Ridley, eight for Standysh, and six for Atkinson.

Parker preserved a great amount of the official correspondence during his years of office, showing the great diversity of questions with which he had to deal; his chief correspondent was the Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester: among the matters arising are the provision for 'decayed cooks', the eating of flesh in Lent, the proper pronunciation

of Greek, prayers and processions for the success of the King's armies, and a long series of letters dealing with the performance by the students of Christ's College of a tragedy, in which the Chancellor alleged that certain Catholic doctrines, which His Majesty thought fit to retain, had been turned to ridicule. The most interesting document contains an account of an interview which Parker had at Hampton Court in 1546 with Henry VIII. It would appear that some members of the court, remembering the profits made out of the monasteries, had cast envious eyes upon the lands and possessions of the Universities, and had persuaded the King to call for a return of these properties. In order to avoid the expense of an external commission, Parker secured the appointment of himself with two other heads of houses to make the return, and went to court to present it. The King 'diligently perused' it, 'and in a certain admiration said to certain of his lords which stood by, that he thought he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly maintained in living by so little land and rent'. After some questions had been answered, 'he said to the lords, that pity it were these lands should be altered to make them worse: at which words some were grieved, for that they disappointed *lupos quosdam hiantes*. With which words we were well armed and so departed.'

Parker has recorded also the speeches that he made to the senate, while Vice-Chancellor or while acting as deputy, to the number of over forty, and has given his reason for doing this as follows: 'These prefaces with others following spoken some time *ex tempore* some time *premeditate* were thus reserved that it might be avouched what words were propounded for the causes of congregations if any quarrel had been found thereof as was seen otherwhiles by experience: *nam belua multorum capitum turba, genus querulum.*' The sting in the tail of this needs some justification, which may, perhaps, be found. In a speech which he dates as 'when I was deputy

for Dr Mallett', who was Vice-Chancellor in 1537, he addressed the senate in these words: 'Senatores, si senatores estis, ostendite senatoriam gravitatem'; some light is thrown upon this appeal by a document in one of the Parker MSS. entitled 'a broil upon the attempt of D. Glyn the Lawyer for 'the election of a vice-chancellor contrary to the minds and 'liberties of the Regents'. The document is neither signed nor dated, but it has plainly been drawn up by some deputy vice-chancellor, and as Dr. Mallet is mentioned as if he were in office, it may probably be of the same date as Parker's appeal. The whole story is too long to quote, but the following extract is sufficient to justify Parker in his use of the word *belua* and in his appeal for *gravitas*: 'Mr Cromforth did lay violent hands upon the seat where I sat 'and Mr Perne did pull me backward by the hood so that 'if the chair had not been upholden by certain that stood 'by they had overthrown it and me. Mr Cromforth 'being at the door of the regent house at such time as 'I first sat in the chair spake to certain of his adherents 'and companions in this conspiracy "now play the men and 'I will begin" and so ran thence as fast as he could and 'played such parts as is above specified.'

From 1553 to 1558 there is a break in the letters, and the question naturally arises as to what Parker was doing during that time. Mary's accession with its revival of Romanism meant that there was no room for Parker in the national church; he was too convinced a reformer to be able to conform to the new conditions, and, to complete the impossibility, he had married in 1547; he had therefore to resign all his preferments and either to seek safety abroad or to lie hidden in England. His own account is: 'After this I lived as a private 'individual, so happy before God in my conscience, and so 'far from being either ashamed or dejected, that the delightful 'literary leisure to which the good providence of God recalled

'me yielded me much greater and more solid enjoyment than my former busy and dangerous kind of life had ever afforded me.' Not that his life was free from danger in his retirement; for he told Bacon a few years later that 'flying in a night, from such as sought for me to my peril, I fell off my horse so dangerously, that I shall never recover it'. Where he hid is unknown; it was probably somewhere in Norfolk, and possibly at Mattishall, his wife's native village, where by the Archbishop's direction a sermon is still preached every year by a member of the college; he had certainly leisure for his literary work and records in 1554 that he had 'completed a metrical version of the Psalter into the vulgar tongue', and 'written a defence of the marriage of priests against Thomas Martin'. We might perhaps assign to this period of seclusion and leisure some of the work that was ultimately used for the Bishops' Bible, completed and presented to Elizabeth in 1568; a document in the State Paper Office gives the names of those who were responsible for the revision of the different books, Parker's initials being attached to Genesis, Exodus, Matthew, Mark, and the epistles from 2 Corinthians to Hebrews. But against this conjecture we must set Parker's statement in a letter to Cecil that he passed 'those hard years of Mary's reign in obscurity, without all conference or such manner of study as now might do me service'.

The important point is that he remained in England, and thus did not get into close contact with the Continental reformed churches; without doubt his solid reading of the Fathers would in any case have prevented him from adopting extreme views, but by staying in England he saved himself from the risk of contamination and was able in the critical time to take an English point of view. This caused a cleavage between him and the 'exiles' in the days of his primacy, as we can see in the case of Edwin Sandys. Sandys and Parker

were contemporaries at Cambridge and fellow heads of houses, Sandys being Master of Katharine Hall; his adventurous and quarrelsome career need not detain us, but it carried him through the sees of Worcester and London to the Archbishopric of York. It was while he was still at Worcester that he wrote a peevish letter to Parker, who had evidently complained of Sandys' management of his diocese: 'I know your nature,' he writes, 'in showing of humanity, which I never misliked. And as I judge yours to be good, so I think ye will not utterly condemn all Germanical natures. For Germany hath brought forth as good natures as England hath. And if ye mean of us which were strangers in Germany for a time, sure I am there be some of us that be neither big-hearted nor proud-minded, but can in all simplicity seek the Kingdom of Christ. For my part I am right glad that ye know from whence it cometh that Canterbury is misliked.'

The death of Mary on 17 November 1558, followed in a few hours by that of Cardinal Pole, brought to an end Parker's leisure; a man was needed to guide the national Church, and Parker's scholarship, business capacity, and sane views marked him out as the obvious primate; Elizabeth had confidence in her mother's chaplain, and on 9 December Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, who had been at Corpus as Parker's younger contemporary, summoned Parker to London to see him and his brother-in-law, Sir William Cecil, on 'certain matters touching yourself, which I trust shall turn you to good'. Parker's reply to this invitation, written between 9 and 20 December, shows that he realized what was on foot, but did not intend to give in without a struggle; he desires no post 'above the reach of mine ability', and would prefer to work in the University; 'to tell you my heart, I had rather have such a thing as Benet College is in Cambridge, a living of 20 nobles by the year at the most, than to dwell in the deanery of Lincoln, which is two hundred at the least.' On

30 December Cecil summoned him to London in the Queen's name, and the question of the archbishopric was discussed. On 1 March Parker, who had now removed from Norfolk to Cambridge, wrote a last appeal to Bacon to be excused; his description of the importance of a right choice is worth quoting: 'I shall pray to God ye bestow that office well. 'God grant it chanceth neither on arrogant man, neither on 'faint-hearted man, nor on covetous man. The first shall both 'sit in his own light, and shall discourage his fellows to join 'with him in unity of doctrine, which must be their whole 'strength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if 'private quarrels stirred abroad be brought home, and so shall 'shiver them asunder, it may chance to have that success which 'I fear in the conclusion will follow. The second man should 'be too weak to commune with the adversaries, who would 'be the stouter upon his pusillanimity. The third man not 'worth his bread, profitable for no estate in any Christian 'commonwealth, to serve it rightly.' The letter recited every disqualification which Parker saw in himself for the office and closed with the appeal: 'Put me where ye will else, and if, as 'far as my power of knowledge and of health of body will 'extend, I do not apply myself to discharge my duty, let me 'be thrust out again like a thief.' Bacon replied to the effect that if he knew any one who fulfilled Parker's description of the desired qualifications better than Parker did, he would prefer him. The appointment was finally settled in June, but it was not till 17 December 1559 that Parker was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel. Parker's journal for that date records his consecration and continues: 'Alas, alas, 'O Lord God, for what times hast Thou kept me. Now am 'I come into deep waters and the flood hath overwhelmed me. 'O Lord, I am oppressed, answer for me, and strengthen me 'with Thy free spirit; for I am a man, and have but a short 'time to live. Give me of Thy sure mercies.'

We have now followed Parker's career until it has brought him to the see of Canterbury; of his conduct of ecclesiastical business it would be inappropriate to speak here; our main interest is in the fact that his position as Archbishop enabled him to become, as Strype describes him, 'a mighty collector of books'. How did he make his collection? I cannot hope to say anything new upon a subject that has been so exhaustively treated by the Provost of Eton in his catalogue of the Parker MSS. at Corpus; and in much of the rest of this paper I shall be indebted mainly to the work of Dr. James. I have already alluded to Parker's habit of preserving official documents and binding them; it is indeed from one of these bound volumes (106) that much of the earlier part of this paper has been extracted, and, in passing, I would point out in this volume a piece of Parker's grim humour; item 339 in this volume is a printed copy of a letter from the Council of State to Bonner, Bishop of London, dated 17 November 1554, ordering him to give notice that Queen Mary is with child; on the back of the letter has been pasted a satirical ballad, beginning:

Now sing, now spring: our care is exil'd,
Our virtuous Queen is quickened with child.

At the bottom of the letter are written in what I take to be Parker's hand the two words 'parturiunt montes'.

We are not, however, concerned with official papers of Parker's own time, but with the treasures of an earlier time which he helped to preserve. I believe that his methods of acquiring these treasures were as honourable as his motives: of the latter there can be no question; they are made quite clear in a letter to Cecil (Corr. cxciv). Cecil had lent Parker a Latin psalter with a Saxon translation; on returning it, Parker says that 'in the riches (of Cecil's library) *videlicet* 'of such treasures, I rejoice as much as they were in mine own: 'so that they may be preserved within the realm and not sent

'over by covetous stationers, or spoiled in the poticaries' shops'. His methods were many: some treasures he got by purchase; Strype's account is that 'he did employ divers men proper for such an end, to search all England over, and Wales (and perhaps Scotland and Ireland too) for books of all sorts, more modern as well as ancient, and to buy them up for his use'. One such agent was Stephen Batman, who affirms that he 'having his Grace's commission gathered 6,700 books by my own travel. Whereof choice being taken, he most graciously bestowed many on Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. I was not the only man in this business, but others also did their good wills.' Dr. James finds only two of the Corpus collection to be clearly traceable to Batman, and thinks that most of the 6,700 may have been printed books; but one of the two, Chaucer's *Troilus* (61), is one of the best manuscripts of the poem and is illustrated by a full-page painting of the most beautiful quality. Dr. James takes it 'to be in the very best style producible in England at the beginning of the fifteenth century'; the painting (Plate 2) represents the poet in a wooden pulpit addressing a group of seated and standing ladies and gentlemen; the ground behind slopes up steeply with trees and in the upper right corner is a turreted castle coloured pink.

Parker was not the only collector in the field; we have seen that Cecil also was getting together a library; yet another collector was John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, about whose collection there is a good deal said in the Parker correspondence. Matthias Flacius wrote to Parker from Jena in 1561 to say that there was much in Bale's library that ought to be in a public library. Bale died in 1563 at Canterbury, preferring the less dignified, but more secure, position of a Canterbury canonry to the dangers of his Irish bishopric; it is possible that these dangers were due less to the state of Ireland than to his own quarrelsome character, as Wood describes him as 'foul-

mouthed Bale', and Fuller styles him 'Biliosus Balneus'. Soon after Bale's death Parker told Cecil that he had 'bespoken' Bale's 'old antiquities' and 'am promised to have them for money if I be not deceived'. But later on, probably in 1566, Parker wrote to Flacius to say that after many inquiries he had procured some of the manuscripts, but that in his judgement they were not of any value: he had, however, lent them to Flacius' agent, 'vester Nigerus', on condition of their being returned within a year; probably about a dozen of the Bale collection are now in the Corpus Library.

But it is more likely that a considerable portion of the manuscripts came to Parker by gift; it was known that he was a 'mighty collector', and it was natural that a man in his high official position should be courted with such presents, as is clear from the Parker correspondence. Scory, Bishop of Hereford, sends him three Saxon manuscripts found in the church of Hereford; Davies, Bishop of St. Davids, tells him that the manuscripts of his diocese had been sent two years previously to Cecil; Robinson, Bishop of Bangor, says that there are no faithful monuments of antiquity to be found in Wales. Thomas Becon, prebendary of Canterbury, sends him 'an old monument worthy to be preserved and embraced for the antiquities' sake, namely an exposition upon the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, with all the Epistles of St. Paul both 'in Latin and English', a fourteenth-century manuscript, which is now 32 in the collection. John Ælmer, archdeacon of Lincoln, writes that he has no historical manuscripts but would shortly send 'the Archbishop of Canterbury's comment upon the Old Testament': this Dr. James would recognize in 55, a thirteenth-century manuscript of Stephen Langton's work. Two of Parker's chief benefactors were the two Wottons, Nicholas, Dean of Canterbury and York, and his nephew Thomas, whom Strype describes as 'worshipful, godly, truly

'learned in antiquities and a correspondent and friend of the 'Archbishop's'. Since about 75 of the Corpus MSS. were originally either in St. Augustine's or in Christ Church, Canterbury, it was probably through the Wottons that many of them came into Parker's hands.

But whatever were the methods adopted by Parker to secure his treasures (and some people have not hesitated to characterize these methods in very plain language), we who have benefited from his hobby owe him a deep debt of gratitude; these wonderful treasures were, to use Strype's words, 'being miserably embezzled and sold away to tradesmen, for little or nothing, for their ordinary shop-uses'. Parker himself told Cecil 'that the nation was deprived of such choice monuments, so much as he saw they were in those days, partly by being spent in shops and used as waste-paper, or conveyed over beyond sea, by some who considered more 'their own private gain than the honour of their country'. That this was no exaggeration we can learn from what Josselyn, Parker's Latin secretary, tells us of the way in which Parker acquired the magnificent folio manuscript of Homer (81): 'a baker of Canterbury rescued it from among some waste paper, remaining from St. Augustine's monastery after the expulsion of the monks and . . . the Archbishop welcomed it 'as a monstrous treasure': a treasure it is, even if its textual value is not as great as was at one time supposed. Parker welcomed the book from a mistaken idea that it had once belonged to Archbishop Theodore, the name Theodorus in gold Greek capitals being illuminated on page 1 within a green wreath: possibly the book once belonged to Theodorus Gaza.

The Corpus collection is rich in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Parker having made a point of securing all the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of which he could hear; of the 38 Anglo-Saxon books at Corpus, 8 came from Worcester, 4 from Exeter, and 5 or 6 from the Canterbury monasteries: of these the most





III. Augustinian Gospels: S. Luke.

famous is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (173), written at Winchester down to the year 1001 and thereafter at Christ Church, Canterbury. After the dissolution of the monastery, the book came into the hands of Nicholas Wotton, the first Dean, who gave it to Parker.

Among the chief treasures of the collection are the Bibles or portions of the Bible; pre-eminent among these, both for its antiquity and also for its historical associations is 286, a copy of the Gospels in the Vulgate, which is traditionally said to have been sent by Pope Gregory to St. Augustine of Canterbury. It is fair to say that the Dean of Christ Church thinks that the text does not bear out this supposition, but is really Anglo-Saxon; but most critics agree that the book was written in Italy and think that the book is old enough to be what it has been reputed to be. No one can, I think, look at the paintings in the book without being convinced that they are Italian in origin, and genuine productions of Roman-Christian art. There are two pictures: one (Plate 3) consists of a portrait of St. Luke, seated in the apse of a basilica, of which four columns are shown, and between each pair of columns are drawn six scenes from the ministry from the vision of Zacharias to Zacchaeus in the tree; the other picture contains twelve incidents in the Passion, from the Entry to the Bearing of the Cross. Dr. James says that 'parallels to the treatment of these scenes must be sought on Christian sarcophagi, mosaics, and catacomb-frescoes'.

Another very interesting volume is the Bury Bible (2). It is a magnificent piece of work and has a special interest, because Dr. James has discovered with certainty not only that its origin was the monastery at Bury St. Edmunds, but that the illuminations were the work of one Master Hugo. The press-mark made it likely that the book came from Bury, and this provenance was confirmed by the discovery that 'at fo. 322 the edge of the leaf has been mended with a patch of

'vellum in cent. xv on which is sketched a crowned head (cut off at the neck) and a scroll inscribed *bic bic bic*. This represents St. Edmund's head which called out "here, here" to those who were searching for it after the martyrdom.' For Master Hugo the evidence is as follows: a manuscript at Pembroke College contains the catalogue (cent. xii, xiii) of the Abbey books, which gives as the second item a Bible in two volumes; from other evidence, which will be found in Dr. James's catalogue, it appears that one Hervey, brother of the priest, and sacrist, found the money to have a great Bible written, and had it painted after a matchless fashion by the hand of Master Hugo. Hugo, not finding vellum to suit him in the district, procured parchment from Ireland; now it happens that almost all the paintings in this Bible are done upon separate pieces of a finer vellum which have been pasted down on the leaves of this book. The book is at present lodged at the British Museum for repair and re-binding, and I have therefore been unable to have a plate made for reproduction.

The Parker collection is rich in psalters, but I will deal only with one of them, the latest and the finest, the so-called Peterborough psalter (53). I choose it partly because of its intrinsic merit, and partly because there is a reproduction of it which can be consulted; it was made for presentation to the Roxburghe Club by the Earl of Plymouth, the late High Steward of the University. Here again the prefatory matter is from the pen of the Provost of Eton, and can easily be seen by those who are interested. The book belonged to Hugh de Stiuecle, one time Prior in the early days of the fourteenth century; it contains a calendar, the psalter, certain offices, chronicles of England and Peterborough, and finally a bestiary. The book is exquisitely illustrated, the chief feature being twenty-four pictures, preceding the Psalter; of these about half represent pairs of apostles and prophets in pale colours, while the remainder illustrate in full colours on gold grounds



IV. Peterborough Psalter.

super inferni ⁊ conturbat ē ualde ⁊
 laetant sunt oēs aīe q̄ erant ī inferno ⁊
 clamant uoce magna dīcētes vñ
 dicimus tē xp̄i fili dī mīri q̄ dignat

es nob̄ īfingēti dāre h̄ dīcī ⁊ h̄ nor
 tis quam totum tēp̄ q̄ uiuimus
 tē tū. vñ ego qui cūdo dūit dīcē dōm
 qm̄ nū h̄ebūt p̄tē cū scis ī cāla celoz



the following scenes—the Annunciation, the Stable at Bethlehem, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Coronation of the Virgin (Plate 4), the Betrayal, the Scourging, the Procession to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Virgin and St. Christopher, and the Christ in Glory. The ornamentation of the *Bestiary* is a splendid specimen of fourteenth-century art.

I can only just mention a few of our other treasures: there are the *Chronicles* written at St. Albans in the thirteenth century and presented to the convent by Matthew Paris (16, 26); the manuscripts contain many illustrations, including the well-known picture of the murder of Becket. One of the most copiously illustrated is 20; it contains the *Apocalypse* in Latin with a French metrical version, the *Vision of St. Paul* in French verse, and the *Order for the Coronation of a King* with a picture, often reproduced, of the coronation of Edward II or Edward III (Plate 5). The *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (23), a manuscript of the eleventh century, from Malmesbury Abbey, is well known for its ‘famous series of 89 drawings made by an English artist after originals which go ‘back to the fifth century’, drawings which are delightfully full of life and movement. ‘The pictures have descriptive ‘titles in red capitals, and the first 47 of them have titles in ‘Anglo-Saxon added at the end of cent. xi.’ (Plate 6.)

While the making of the collection was due to Parker, to him is also due in great measure its preservation; so binding were the regulations laid down in the deed of gift, that of the 433 manuscripts handed over by the Archbishop’s son all remain to this day. Parker directed that the manuscripts were to be kept under three locks, the keys being in the custody of the Master and two of the Fellows; the Master of Gonville and Caius College and the Master of Trinity Hall were to audit the collection annually on 6 August, Parker’s birthday, with the assistance of two scholars of Parker’s foundation at the two colleges, who were all to be suitably rewarded and

dined ; in case of 'supine negligence' involving loss of a fixed number of books, the whole collection, together with the plate Parker had given to Corpus, was to pass to Gonville and Caius and, in case of their similar negligence, to Trinity Hall, and from there back again to Corpus Christi. These restrictions and penalties were only natural, when we realize the manner in which books were stolen from monastic libraries, in spite of the anathema so often to be found inscribed on the fly-leaf. Parker's restrictions are not without some inconvenience and in special cases some relaxation has been necessary.

There is preserved in the bursary of the College a curiously pedantic letter, bearing upon the collection, written by Richard Montague, Bishop of Chichester, 1628-38, to Richard Love, Master of Corpus, 1632-61. Montague was the clergyman over whom Charles I and his Parliament quarrelled : the Parliament put him in prison because it objected to his Romish preaching ; Charles set him free, and made him a Royal Chaplain and a Bishop. Love was a type of the Vicar of Bray ; he became Master of Corpus on commendatory letters from Charles I, sat firm in his lodge during the rebellion and received letters from Cromwell with the inscription 'to my Loving Friend, M^r D^r Love', and became Dean of Ely at the restoration. Montague's letter is as follows :

To the right w^{ll} my loving and much respected good Friend, M^r D^r Love, M^r of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, this :

S^r Though I am a stranger I suppose unto you, yet for as much as we are *isidem sacris initiati*, I presume to entreat, that this bearer my chaplain may by your favour be admitted to a view and search for some particulars in your well-furnished *dolens dico* rather *βιβλιοταφεία* than *βιβλιοθήκη*. For great pity it is, that such excellent monuments do I know not *qua saevitate cum blattis et tineis decertare* and *incendium sperare*, w^{ch} are not happily *alibi reperibilia*. If you could help it you should do a work meritorious of God, the church, learning and me. At my own pains and charges I would farther it *ὡς ἐν' ἐμοῦ*. Howsoever I remain

Your poor Friend and Servant

Ri: Cicestr:

Aldingborne House. Junii x.

berseueren in fahrlässigen misseten dā dñi mibru pūmigenau



^{6. post} **IXIT** ^{3. post} **ET** ^{3. post} **TAURATIS** ^{6. post} **PSALIN** ^{6. post} **OENS** ^{6. post} **AKAPENNIS**
^{6. post} **Q** ^{6. post} **U** ^{6. post} **N** ^{6. post} **E** ^{6. post} **C**
 humilis, fugiam mun-
 pompis adsum metu-
 unde carol pntz. 132.
 sedula sp. sacent. ur-
 mibus in hac uia
 laborans gemit adhu-
 cadapiam gemit. p
 multat tribulationes
 appe ne.
 necum seurge rapit: mirantur euntem
 iratus tolluntq: animos inuota. uo lenes
 resimul, nubella diuocytentia retardent
 Confugunt uanis, sequer adsum premia ferunt;



I have no means of knowing whether the Bishop's accusation that the library was a βιβλιοταφεία in those days was justified. For as long as I can remember, our governing body have done all they can to make the Parker treasures as accessible as is possible, for as Parker himself acquired them to read and to use and not merely to hoard them and gloat over them, we have felt it our obligation to give the freest possible access to this mine of treasures, which is by no means yet worked out.

Of the Plates with which this paper is illustrated, Nos. 1 and 7, which are of the original size, are taken from a superb edition of the College Statutes; on the reverse of the fly-leaf is the statement 'hic liber complectens statuta Collegii una cum aliis insequentibus memoratu dignis scriptus et absolutus fuit opera et industria Matthaei Cantuar. Archiepi.' We may assume that the book was written and illuminated in Parker's *scriptorium* at Lambeth. It is bound in leather, sumptuously tooled in gold with a Tudor rose crowned in the centre of each cover, with small bosses at each corner, and two clasps. The book contains a copy of the Charter from Elizabeth authorizing the Visitors to act, the Statutes made for the College with the signatures of the Visitors, viz. Parker, Burghley, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and Sir Anthony Cooke, and 'the Testimony of the guiftes of Matthue Archb: of Cant', a summary of Parker's benefactions. The frontispiece (Plate 7) represents Elizabeth seated on a throne, which is upheld by Fortitude and Prudence, and crowned by Justice and Mercy: below is a picture of Parker preaching at Court. The tailpiece (Plate 1) is a portrait of Parker on his seventieth birthday; in the corners are Parker's arms as Archbishop, his personal arms, the arms of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and of Corpus Christi College.

No. 2 from the Troilus MS. is reduced from 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times 8 $\frac{1}{4}$; only the picture and its frame are shown, there being no room to reproduce the flowered border with which the frame is

surrounded. No. 3, St. Luke, from the Augustinian Gospels, is of the original size. No. 4, the Coronation of the Virgin, from the Peterborough Psalter, is reduced from $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times 6. No. 5, from the Coronation Order, is reduced from 9 in. \times $7\frac{3}{8}$. No. 6, from the Psychomachia of Prudentius, has the marginal title 'Humilitas ascendit in caelū : Virtutes mirantur eam' ; it is reduced from 10 in. \times 6.



Sauter. Sheppard. Sc.

Captain Lemuel Gulliver, of
Redriff Ætat. suæ 58.

1. Portrait of Gulliver : First State.

THE MOTTE EDITIONS OF *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

By HAROLD WILLIAMS¹



THE byways of exploration through the tangled growth of pamphlets, polemical tracts, and occasional pieces associated with the name of Jonathan Swift are, many of them, almost untrodden; and they afford the opportunity of quaint, amusing, or valuable discovery. And, further, the highways, or, as we should call them in the language of the twentieth century, the arterial roads through the literature of Swift have by no means yielded every bibliographical secret. This is the excuse for a paper on some of the early editions of *Gulliver's Travels*. In general outline, although with gaps, the relationship of Motte's editions has, no doubt, been established; but no exactness or fullness of comparative study has, until recently, been attempted. In the most unexpected quarters misconception and vague uncertainty appear. John Forster, despite the enthusiasm of a lifetime given to the collection and study of Swift material, seems never to have reached any clear or complete ideas on the Dean's most famous book. Sir Henry Craik is content, for his object is not bibliography, with a summary appendix, which is not entirely accurate and does little more than skirt the problem of the early editions.² In 1864 J. F. Waller's preface to an edition of *Gulliver's Travels* mentioned that it was originally 'issued from the press in 1727, with mysterious

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 16 November 1925.

² *Life of Jonathan Swift*. Sir Henry Craik. 2nd ed., 1894; ii. Appendix viii, pp. 316-18.

secrecy'; but the writer, evidently a little doubtful of himself, tried to save the situation with a foot-note—'The First Part appeared in November, 1726.' If this composite piece of information be true, it can only be said that 'mysterious secrecy' still wraps the source from which it was derived. Stanley Lane-Poole's *Notes for a Bibliography of Swift*¹ makes no pretence to completeness, but it is, at the least, curious that he seems to have misconceived the true mating of the two volumes of the second edition of *Gulliver's Travels*.

In company with *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe* Swift's great imaginative satire has appeared in almost countless editions, and been translated into many tongues. The immediate popularity of the book underlies the story of its early editions; and contemporary success seems to have been almost as great outside the borders of this country. Within a year of publication one Dutch and two independent French translations appeared, and each of the French versions went into a second edition. The more faithful, and probably the earlier of the French translations, was that published at The Hague; the translator of the other, which was printed in Paris, the Abbé Desfontaines, overstrained his powers in the rash attempt to extend and improve upon the text of his author. In the Forster Library at South Kensington there is a copy of the second Paris edition with amusing notes by a former owner, who declares that after a careful comparison with the English all he can say for the French translation is that, 'in every degree of demerit and worthlessness it infinitely exceeds my suspicions'. It has, however, succeeded in holding its ground to our own day. The Germans came a few years later with a translation published at Hamburg in 1739. Italy and Sweden followed in the eighteenth century; and in the nineteenth century the succession continued. Not all the

¹ Printed in *The Bibliographer*, 1884; and reprinted in the same year as a separate pamphlet, London, Elliot Stock.



2. Portrait of Gulliver : Second State.

translators are at home in their task. A Spanish translator, for example, like the Abbé Desfontaines, felt that some apology was necessary, and he begs his readers to remember, should they be staggered by the magnitude of the lies in the book, that the author was a heretic Dean.

The story of the translations is of interest, if not immediately valuable to our present inquiry, for it is one aspect of that contemporary public demand for *Gulliver's Travels* which explains the rapid succession of English editions issued by the original publisher. *Gulliver's Travels* is one of the few books combining attributes which make for the best seller of a season and qualities which determine its place with enduring literature. And a study of the relationship to each other of the early editions is of more than purely bibliographical interest. It has been said that bibliography is that science which treats of everything connected with a book except its content. This cannot always be true, for personal and literary considerations must sometimes invade the province of bibliography; and, contrariwise, bibliographical conclusions may help to settle textual and humanistic problems. This is illustrated, I think, in the case of *Gulliver's Travels*. And yet, despite the constant stream of editions, it was not till comparatively recently that any true appreciation was shown of the early narrative of the book, and the bearing of that narrative upon the question of an exact text realized.¹ Modern editors seem frequently to have adopted Hawkesworth's text, or a text drawn, apparently at random, from various editions. Sir Henry Craik² followed Motte's fourth octavo, an early edition which had the merit of incorporating some authoritative revision. Professor Henry Morley's edition,³ which professed to be 'exactly reprinted

¹ The controversy between Faulkner and Hawkesworth may appear to provide an exception to this statement, but that is part of the original story.

² Macmillan & Co., 1894.

³ 'The Carisbrooke Library', George Routledge & Sons, 1890.

from the first edition', was really printed from the second edition. It is almost true to say that in hardly any case, before Mr. G. Ravenscroft Dennis's edition of 1899,¹ was any adequate critical spirit exhibited by a modern editor. The relative value or authority of text or reading adopted was but lightly considered. This, again, is the more remarkable, if we reflect that a deliberate editing of the author's manuscript, and, later, a textual squabble between two rival publishers, form an important part of the early narrative of *Gulliver's Travels*. In the first edition, and in others which followed, several passages appeared in a form in which they were never composed by Swift; and the exact degree of authority attributable to the 1735 edition published by Faulkner in Dublin may, perhaps, still be disputed. An inquiry into the character, the priority, the sequence, and the relationship of the early editions is thus not only of interest in itself, but valuable as a guide toward settling two important questions: What was the form of the manuscript handed to the first publisher? What was the character, if any, of Swift's last revision?

Gulliver's Travels was first published in 1726, and two further editions appeared within a few weeks. Each of these editions was in two octavo volumes, with twenty-five lines to the page, the text and catchwords of each, page by page, apparently, at first sight in correspondence with either of the other two editions. A portrait of Gulliver, similar in appearance, was prefixed to the first volume of each edition, a map faced the first page of the text of each of the four Voyages, and the Voyage to Laputa contained, in addition, two figures, or plans. There was a general title-page to each volume; and Parts I, II, and IV, but not III, had separate title-pages, which, at a glance might be supposed the same. Those

¹ Vol. viii of *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*. Ed. Temple Scott. George Bell & Sons.

differences which appear on the face of the three editions were, no doubt, occasionally noticed; but curiosity seems first to have been exhibited in the pages of *Notes and Queries*. In 1872 a correspondent noted two editions published in 1726, one separately paged for each of the four parts, the other continuously paged throughout each volume. There the matter rested till 1885, when it was pointed out that there were in 1726 two issues with separate pagination and one with continuous pagination; and Mr. Edward Solly suggested differentiating them as A, AA, and B issues.¹ In this he was followed by Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis in the introduction to his edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, and by W. Spencer Jackson in his *Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift*.² But, and there is an irony in it, a great work of English literature had to wait for an American Doctor of Geology adequately to investigate the bibliography of its early editions. Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard, of the University of Michigan, by a line for line and word for word comparison of the early editions, brought to light typographical and bibliographical secrets which had previously passed unnoticed. The reader of this paper had covered independently much of the ground traversed by Dr. Hubbard in his admirable *Contributions towards a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels* (1922)³ before, by meeting with that book, his task was lightened. He desires also to make further acknowledgements to Dr. Hubbard for information and suggestions privately conveyed. The results are, so far as space permits, embodied here, and more fully in the introduction to an edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, which will be published early next year by the First Edition Club.

After the fall of Harley and Bolingbroke in 1714 Swift retired from English politics and the literary companionship

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, 4 S., ix. 342; 6 S., xii. 350, 398, 474.

² Vol. xii of *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*. Ed. Temple Scott.

³ Published by Walter M. Hill, Chicago.

of London to exile in Dublin. He carried with him those seedling ideas which were afterwards to develop into the famous *Travels*. Sir Henry Craik was of opinion that the book was written during the early years of Swift's retirement, and 'completed, in something like its present shape, in 1720'.¹ There is nothing, however, in Swift's correspondence before 1720 to suggest that he was engaged with the writing of *Gulliver*, whereas from 1722 onward references to the work, either on the part of the author or his friends, are not infrequent. It is not impossible, nor even unlikely, that before 1720 Swift jotted down detached passages of satire which were later incorporated in the complete draft; but the historical colouring and contemporary references of the narrative,² taken in conjunction with the correspondence, render it most improbable that the story, in anything approximating to 'its present shape' existed as early as 1720. At all events we know that during the summer and autumn of 1725 Swift was actively 'finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing', and that in the early spring of the following year he arrived in London carrying his completed manuscript.

Pope, who was accustomed to dealing unflinchingly with publishers, was entrusted with the negotiations, which he conducted finally through Erasmus Lewis. The manuscript was submitted under cover of secrecy to Benjamin Motte. Whether or not Motte suspected the true authorship he agreed to publish, and almost upon the terms offered him—a happy instance of business foresight combined with open-handedness. The correspondence with Motte, relative to the terms of publication, purported to come from a cousin of 'Mr. Lemuel Gulliver', who signed himself 'Richard Sympson'. This same 'Richard Sympson' was also the writer of

¹ *Op. cit.* ii. 18 n. See also Deane Swift, *Essay* (1755), pp. 278–81.

² See more particularly 'The Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels'. By Sir Charles Firth. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. ix.

'The Publisher to the Reader', prefixed to the printed *Travels*. He was, of course, none other than Swift himself; and it is interesting to note that the two-volume form in which *Gulliver's Travels* appeared may possibly be due to his suggestion, for in a fragment dated 'August 13th', two days before Swift left for Ireland again, 'R. Sympson' writes, 'I would have both volumes come out together and published by 'Christmas at furthest.' Motte, who was apparently in good heart over the affair, promised to publish in a month; but October was nearly out before the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* was actually issued. Credit for discovery of the exact date is due to the researches of Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis,¹ who traced Motte's advertisements in *The Daily Journal* and *The Daily Post* of 28 October, and *The Evening Post* of 27-9 October. The advertisement, as it appeared in *The Daily Journal*, runs:

This Day is Published

Travels into several remote Nations of the
World. By LEMUEL GULLIVER, first a Surgeon, afterwards
Captain of several Ships. In Two Volumes.
Compositum jus, fasque animi, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, & incoctum generoso pectus honesto.
Printed for BENJ. MOTTE, at the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet-street.
N.B. There are a few Printed on a Royal Paper.

This advertisement is of interest in three several ways. It gives the exact date of publication, 28 October 1726, not early in November as was previously inferred; it contains the quotation from Persius² engraved beneath the portrait of Gulliver in its second, but not in its first state; and it is evidence for the fact, which can be otherwise ascertained, that large-paper copies belong to the first edition.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Introd., p. xii n. The advertisement is here given as originally printed. Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis's note is slightly inaccurate.

² *Sat.* ii. 73, 74. These lines perhaps came as a late suggestion from Pope or Swift; and afterwards it may have occurred to Motte that they might appropriately accompany the portrait.

SOME VARIATIONS OF

1726.

Separate Pagination.

| <i>Part.</i> | <i>Page.</i> | <i>Line.</i> | <i>First Edition (8vo).</i> | <i>Second Edition (8vo).</i> |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|---|---|
| II | 24 | 4 | 'by all my Travels' | 'by my Travels' |
| II | 62 | 13 | 'were' | 'was' |
| II | 63 | 17 | Full stop | Note of Interrogation |
| III | 144 | 13 | 'deprived' | 'deprived' |
| III | Chap. | xi | Nine Pages | Eight Pages |
| IV | 29 | 2/3 | 'signs and words' | 'signs and wonders' |
| IV | 52 | 12 | 'represent' | 'repret' |
| IV | 92 | 4/5 | 'That he applies his Words to all Uses' | 'That he never tells Words to all Uses' |
| IV | 165 | 13 | 'Necessaries' | 'Necessities' |

The page and line references are to the separately paged 8vo editions.

THE MOTTE EDITIONS

| 1726. | 1727. | |
|--|--|--|
| <i>Continuous Pagination.</i> | | <i>Separate Pagination.</i> |
| <i>Third Edition (8vo).</i> | <i>Fourth Edition (12mo).</i> | <i>Fifth Edition (8vo).</i> |
| ' by my Travels ' | ' by Travels ' | ' by all my 'Travels ' |
| ' was ' | ' was ' | ' were ' |
| Note of Interrogation | Note of Interrogation | Full stop |
| ' deprived ' | ' deprived ' | ' despised ' |
| Eight Pages | — | Nine Pages |
| ' signs and wonders ' | ' signs and wonders ' | ' signs and words ' |
| ' repeat ' | ' repeat ' | ' represent ' |
| ' That he never tells Words to all Uses ' | ' That he never tells Words to all Uses ' | ' That he applies his Words to all Uses ' |
| ' Necessities ' | ' Necessities ' | ' Necessaries ' |

Motte appears from the first to have felt some confidence in his venture, but the instant and remarkable popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* was evidently something unexpected, for his first edition was inadequate to meet the public demand, and, as he was compelled to reset, we can only presume that he had distributed most of his type. A contemporary pamphlet by Arbuthnot, *Gulliver Decypher'd*, tells us that 'there have been several Thousands sold in a Week'; Gay and Pope, in a joint letter, inform Swift that 'the whole impression sold in a week';¹ Dr. Johnson says, 'it was received with such avidity 'that the price of the first edition was raised before the 'second could be made'; and the Abbé Desfontaines professes to have learned that ten thousand copies sold in three weeks.² A comparison of the three Motte editions of 1726 suggests that Motte was unable, single-handed, to meet the demand, and was compelled to utilize the services of more than one printing-house.

The story of the relationship and dissimilarities of the three octavo editions published by Motte in 1726 is so far complete in itself, and may be first narrated. In case of an occasional reference it may, however, be mentioned that Motte also published three further editions—a fourth octavo in 1727, incorporating certain corrections furnished by Charles Ford, Swift's friend, and two duodecimo editions, one in 1727, and one in 1731.

The general similarity in appearance and form of the three octavo editions of 1726 has been indicated already. In each edition Vol. I, containing the Voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag, is preceded by a portrait, engraved by Sheppard; it contains one general title-page, two separate title-pages, and two maps. In each edition Vol. II, containing the Voyages to Laputa and the Houyhnhnms, has a general title-page to

¹ *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*. Ed. F. Elrington Ball. iii. 360.

² *Voyages de Gulliver*, 1727, 2nd ed., p. xxxi.

Parts III and IV, a separate title-page to Part IV, two maps and two plans. In all the Motte editions the verso of the general title-page to Vol. I is blank, and is followed by a leaf containing, on the recto, the general contents (or titles of the four Parts). In all the Motte editions, further, with the exception of the duodecimo of 1731,¹ the imprint on the title-page of Vol. II differs consistently from the imprint on the title-page of Vol. I, in that 'Benjamin' is printed in full and 'in Fleet-street' is omitted (Facs. 3 and 4). Two of the 1726 editions have a separate page enumeration for each Part, one is consecutively paged throughout each volume. The special title-page to Part I, in the two editions with separate pagination, is the only one of the series with a printer's ornament—a basket containing fruit and flowers. In one of the three editions, the second with separate pagination, this same separate title-page to Part I is the only title-page not dignified with a blank verso. In each edition 'VOL. I' appears on the title-page of the first volume (Facs. 3), but 'VOL. II' is stated only on the title-page of the second volume of the continuously-paged edition (Facs. 6). In one edition with separate pagination (the first) the preliminary matter at the beginning of the first volume occupies a complete signature, and the text of Part I begins on B; in the other two the preliminary matter is compressed within six leaves, and the text begins on A7. There are other common agreements and variations, which need not here be particularized, with the exception of that error which was curiously continued through all the Motte editions, and perpetuated by other publishers—the seventh chapter of Part III is numbered 'CHAP. V'.

It is a common practice of the bookseller's catalogue to claim that a copy of *Gulliver's Travels* 'with portrait in the

¹ On the general title-page to vol. i of the 1731 duodecimo 'Benjamin' is printed in full; but, following all the other Motte editions 'in Fleet-street' is omitted from the general title-page of vol. ii.

TRAVELS
INTO SEVERAL
Remote NATIONS
OF THE
WORLD.

IN FOUR PARTS.

By *LEMUEL GULLIVER*,
First a SURGEON, and then a CAP-
TAIN of several SHIPS.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N .

*Printed for BENJ. MOTTF, at the
Middle Temple-Gate in Fleet-street.*

MDCC XXVI.

3. General Title-page to Vol. I. First Edition.
(Also used for the Second Edition.)

TRAVELS
INTO SEVERAL
Remote Nations
OF THE
WORLD.

By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER.

PART III.

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI,
GLUBEDUBDRIE, LUGGNAGG and
JAPAN.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the HOUYHNHNMS.

L O N D O N:

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE, at the
Middle-Temple-Gate. M DCC XXVI.

'first state, the word "subsides" on p. 35 of Part I, and the 'date "1724" on p. 64' belongs to the 'first issue of the first edition'. Of these three frequently cited marks of distinction the first and the third have something to tell us; the second is not, in itself, of importance. The most natural argument from the form 'Subsidues', which appears in one of the 1726 editions, is that it represents a printer's error which was corrected to 'Subsidies' in later editions. It happens, however, to belong to the second edition.

The portrait provides us with valuable evidence; for it occurs in three states, the sequence of which is not in doubt. Until recently only two states were recognized. Dr. Hubbard was the first to note a third.¹ In its first state (Facs. 1) the portrait is set within an oval in a frame consisting of seven lines drawn round the oval, a narrow blank, a ten-line oval, and an outer blank. On a tablet beneath the oval is inscribed 'Captain Lemuel Gulliver, of Redriff Ætat. suae 58'. In the second state (Facs. 2) this inscription is placed on the ten-line oval surrounding the portrait; and on the tablet, from which the border-lines have been nearly erased, appear the two lines from Persius previously used by Motte in his advertisement. In the third state the shading and detail have been retouched, and the border-lines of the tablet are even more clearly defined than in the first state. There can be no question but that the first state of the portrait is that with no inscription round the oval. In the first two states the ten lines of the oval are identical. They could not have been removed, together with the inscription, and re-engraved to show no difference.

The portrait in the first state is rare. It occurs in the large-paper copies, and in copies on small-paper of that separately-paged edition which has eight leaves of preliminary matter at the beginning of the first volume. As we saw, Motte in

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.

advertising the first publication of *Gulliver's Travels*, stated that a few copies would be printed on 'a Royal Paper'. It may, then, at the outset, be assumed that copies with the portrait in the first state, or, if lacking the portrait, eight preliminary leaves at the beginning of Vol. I, belong to the first edition.

The portrait in the second state is found in the other two editions of 1726. In its third state it occurs, but not always, in the octavo edition of 1727. The British Museum and Forster Library copies, for example, have portraits in the third state.

If Motte used a separate pagination for each part of his first edition he would probably follow the pattern in his second; and the continuously-paged edition is most naturally to be presumed his third. The plates certainly were intended to accompany an edition with separate pagination; for the engraver indicates that the maps of Brobdingnag and Houyhnhnmland are to face p. 1 of Parts II and IV respectively. In the continuously-paged edition they are compelled to face pp. 149 and 155. And that this edition is the third is borne out by a correction made on pp. 62 and 64 of Part I. Once on p. 62 and twice on p. 64 the number '1724' is altered to '1728'. This is not a 'date', as it is frequently styled, but a figure representing the difference in bulk between Gulliver and a Lilliputian. According to Gulliver one inch in Lilliput is the equivalent of an English foot. The difference in all measurements, therefore, is as twelve to one; and to arrive at the relationship of cubic content between our world and that of Lilliput, we must take the cube of twelve. Now $12 \times 12 \times 12 = 1728$. Somebody noticed that the '1724' of the two separately-paged editions was incorrect, and made the obvious emendation. A correction of the kind gives sound reason for believing that the edition in which it occurs is most probably the third of the

group. Thus we are justified in accepting a provisional working sequence of the Motte editions of 1726.

It has been customary, for about forty years, to speak of these three as separate issues of a single edition. The words we have at our disposal, edition, issue, impression, re-impression, do not perhaps cover every shade of difference, and they are often loosely used; but, in any event, there seems to be no justification whatever for describing as separate issues of one edition books set afresh, printed from different type, and varying from each other in hundreds of particulars, great and small. The practice of using the word 'issue' sprang from the neglect of a close textual and typographical scrutiny. In this paper the word 'edition' has already been consistently used; and it will be seen, I think, that it is the right word.

Motte's first edition, that with the portrait in the first state¹ and sixteen preliminary pages at the beginning of Vol. I appeared in two sizes. The leaf of large-paper copies measures approximately 226 mm., that of small-paper copies about 195 mm. Each volume is printed in a uniform type, but two different founts were used. Vol. II is printed with a larger type than that used for Vol. I. The difference in height between the printed pages of either volume is, however, variable. Copies of the first three editions examined and measured were also found to present irregular discrepancies in the height of the type-page, not altogether to be explained by the fount in use.

The compositor (or compositors) of this edition cannot be credited with any marked degree of system or method. The spelling is apt to be archaic or eccentric, the capitalization of substantives, the use of roman or italic type, the introduction of the apostrophe, inconsistent. These irregularities were sometimes set right in the second edition; but new errors

¹ Small-paper copies of the first edition occur with the portrait in the second state.

were introduced, and many passed over that might have been corrected.

Dr. Hubbard is of opinion that the highly-prized large-paper copies of this edition 'represent an intermediate if not the final printing of the first edition'.¹ A dislocation of type, already apparent on p. 50 of Part IV in small-paper copies, is further developed in the large-paper copies. In addition two words misspelt on p. 90 of Part III and an inaccurate catchword at the foot of p. 64 of Part IV, so found in copies of the smaller size, are corrected in large-paper copies. Owners of a small-paper copy of the first edition may therefore congratulate themselves upon being in possession, possibly, of an earlier printing of *Gulliver's Travels* than the proud owner of a large-paper copy.

A general comparison, followed by a line for line collation, of the first and second editions brings to light three outstanding features of variation. There are first the alterations due to the compositor, and his new errors. These are nearly all of a minor character, but they are numerous, amounting in all to some six hundred. They relate chiefly to the capitalization of numerals and substantives, the use of the apostrophe, the appropriate employment of italic or roman type, the function of the 'i' and 'y', the form 'wondred' or 'wondered', and other variations in spelling. It is impossible to examine these here in detail; but, taken as a whole, they serve to show that this edition was set from the first, and that the continuously-paged edition following, in turn, was set from the second. A table of variations, printed on pp. 236-7, will give some idea of the relationship of the Motte editions. Secondly, there is a tendency to economy in the use of paper, of a nature to suggest that the printer had before him an exemplar, giving him a standard by which to judge his opportunities of saving without introducing any marked variation in the general

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

appearance of his edition; and, thirdly, there is the use of several founts of type, indicative of haste and the desire to produce a new edition as quickly as possible.

It has already been mentioned that in the first edition the preliminary pages at the beginning of Vol. I number sixteen, or eight leaves—a full signature. These eight leaves combined with the text of Part I (B 1 a–L 2 b) constitute eighty-two leaves. In the second edition, by a judicious use of versos previously blank, the preliminary leaves are reduced to six, the text begins on A 7 a and ends on K 8 b, in all eighty leaves, or ten full signatures, and no more. In both editions the text of Part I ends on p. 148. In Vol. II, however, it is immediately noticeable that, whereas in the first edition the text of Part III ends on p. 155, in the second edition it ends on p. 154. In this way, again, the second edition allots eighty leaves, and no more, to the preliminary matter and text of Part III. The pagination and signatures tally in the two editions until we reach the last chapter of the Voyage to Laputa. In both editions this c. xi begins on p. 147; but in the first the chapter occupies four leaves and the recto of a fifth, and the signature sequence is broken (L 2 a–L 4 b, M 1 a–M 2 a), in the second only four leaves, and the signatures run regularly (L 2 a–L 5 b). In the second edition the matter of this chapter has been compressed. P. 147 contains sixteen lines of text, as against only eleven in the first edition, and a full page contains twenty-seven lines instead of the twenty-five lines of a normal page in each of the octavo editions. It is possible that the broken signature sequence of the first edition indicates that something went wrong with this chapter while it was being set, whereas the consecutive signature sequence of the second edition would be natural in the case of uninterrupted work from straightforward printed copy. It is generally admitted that a tendency to economy in the use of paper is more likely to appear in a later, rather than in a first or early edition.

The compositor working from printed copy has a favourable opportunity of measuring his possibilities.

Despite some attention to a more regularized spelling, and a few minor corrections, the second edition was carelessly seen through the press, and, very probably, was the product of more than one printing-house. The variations from the printed text of the first edition are irregularly distributed. Reduced to percentages, the proportionate distribution of differences between the parts is, approximately, Part I, 11; Part II, 34; Part III, 45; Part IV, 10. In Vol. I, however, the ratio of differences between the two editions does not follow the Voyage divisions of the narrative. This volume falls into four sections, revealed, on examination, by the use of different type. The first consists of pp. 1-52 inclusive of Part I; the second of p. 53, Part I to p. 80, Part II inclusive; the third of pp. 81-160 inclusive of Part II; and the fourth of the last two leaves of the volume, Part II, pp. 161-4. As might be expected, each of the first three sections ends with the last leaf of a signature. It is further of interest to notice that these sections are distinguished from each other not only by differences of type, but by the habits of the compositors in setting from the printed copy before them. The compositor of the first section, which extends to rather more than one-third of the Voyage to Lilliput, in proportion to the amount of copy allotted him, makes changes three times more frequently than the compositor of the second. The compositor of the third section easily outstrips the other two, averaging about two alterations to a page, something like twice the number attained by the first compositor. The fourth section is too short to admit of useful comparison with the other three.

If we turn now to compare Vol. II of the two editions we discover three breaks in the continuity of minor variation indicating, apparently, the use of sheets left over from the first edition, or printings from type which had not been

distributed. In Part III, pp. 65-75 inclusive, F 1 a-F 6 a, there seem to be no differences between the two editions, except, possibly, the introduction of a comma in the second edition, and the correction of the number at the top of p. 74, which in the first edition is misnumbered 44. Some slight irregularities of type on these pages also exhibit a likeness, but it is curious that the identity does not extend to a full signature. At pp. 113-44, also of Part III, we meet with a complete correspondence of two entire signatures, I and K. The attention is arrested by noticing on p. 114 (ll. 6-7) the word 'singular' appearing as 'ngu-lar'. Further examination shows that for these two signatures the two editions are identical—text, ornamental initial letters, head-pieces, tail-pieces, are the same. In Part IV signature N and signature O-O 5 a (pp. 177-99), that is the final twenty-three pages, are apparently, with the exception of three or four pages, identical in the two editions.¹ The natural presumption from these complete and partial correspondences is that, whereas most of the type of the first edition had been at once distributed, a small part belonging to Vol. II was still standing, and was used again.

The three title-pages of Vol. I, the second edition, are identical with those of the first edition. In Vol. II the separate title-page to Part IV at first bears every appearance of being identical, but a closer scrutiny reveals the fact that it is not actually that of the first edition. The title-page to the volume (Facs. 5), covering Parts III and IV, bears the words 'The Second Edition', and this has been taken as an indication that the two volumes are not of the same issue. It should, however, be definitely noted that this is a proper description of both volumes, and that the true mate of the first volume of

¹ Six of these twenty-three pages seem identical, even to faulty and misaligned type. Only four, pp. 187, 190, 191, and possibly 194, exhibit differences of spelling or punctuation. There are, but doubtfully, one or two slight differences of spacing.

TRAVELS
INTO SEVERAL
Remote Nations
OF THE
WORLD.

By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER.

PART III.

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI,
GLUBBDUBDRIB, LUGGNAGG, and
JAPAN.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the HOUYHNHNS.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N:

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE, at the
Middle-Temple-Gate. M.DCC.XXVI.

this edition is a second volume correctly announced on the title-page as 'The Second Edition'. It is possible that here, again, we have an example of economy. The title-pages of Vol. I, the first edition, were still, apparently, available when the second edition was going to press, and were used; the appropriate title-pages for Vol. II were either not available or were discarded, and the publisher took the opportunity of describing the edition correctly. Irregular combinations are, however, not infrequent. In some instances these are probably due to the bookseller uniting isolated volumes of different editions; in others the cross-mating seems to have been contemporaneous with publication. Vol. II of this edition is sometimes found with the title-page of the third edition (Facs. 6), i. e. without indication of edition, and with 'VOL. II' printed for the first time. It may be surmised that an insufficient number of title-pages to the second volume was printed, and that Motte supplied the deficiency with title-pages of the third edition, which was in course of publication. Cross-combinations of Vol. I and Vol. II of the first and second or second and third editions also occur; but these, whether of old or new standing, are neither of interest nor consequence.

The immediate popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* with every class from the royal family to the humblest reader enables us to date the publication of the second edition within a few days. On Monday, 28 November 1726, *Parker's Penny Post*, a paper which appeared three times weekly, began a serial publication of Swift's book. The editor explained his intention of inserting the *Travels* 'in small parcels, to oblige our 'Customers, who are otherwise, not capable of reading them 'at the Price they are sold'. It is interesting to find, from a study of his text, that he was using a copy of the second edition. As he must, almost certainly, have resolved on publication at least several days before printing his first instalment, we may

TRAVELS
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By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER.

VOL. II.

PART III.

A VOYAGE to LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI,
GLUBBDUBDRIBB, LUGGNAGG, and
JAPAN.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the HOUYHNHNMS.

L O N D O N :

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE, at the
Middle-Temple-Gate. M DCC XXVI.

6. General Title-page to Vol. II. Third Edition
(Also used for some Copies of the Second Edition).

conclude that the first edition had been exhausted almost immediately, as Gay and Pope inform us, and that the second followed within less than three weeks of its first appearance. The presumption that the second edition was issued about the middle of November is further strengthened by the first of the many commentaries printed—'A Key, being Observations 'and *Explanatory* Notes upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver. 'By Signor Corolini, a noble *Venetian* now residing in London.' The first part of this key, which follows the Voyage to Lilliput chapter by chapter, is dated from 'St. James's Place, Nov. 18. 1726'. On p. 16 the author observes that 'Mr. Gulliver was 'a man of the strictest Veracity (as his Editor Mr. Richard 'Sympson affirms in his *Preface*, pag. vi)'. The reference is to a passage in 'The Publisher to the Reader', forming part of the preliminary matter of Vol. I, and suggests that the commentator could not be using a copy of the first edition, in which this particular passage occurs on p. vii; that is, unless the reference number is inaccurately printed. If, also, the date, 'Nov. 18', appended to the letter be accepted, we have an additional piece of evidence to show that the second edition was on sale within less than three weeks of the publication of the first.¹

Before the end of the year Motte found that yet another edition of *Gulliver's Travels* was demanded. Apparently he had once more distributed his type, for, otherwise, he would hardly have incurred the expense of setting up a new edition which is not markedly an improvement upon the two preceding it. There are, however, fewer mistakes in spelling than are to be found in the two earlier editions, the capitalization of substantives is more consistent; and, apart from a few misreadings, in which it follows the second edition, the third of Motte's editions compares favourably with its two predecessors. But in Vol. I there are nineteen misnumbered pages.

¹ See also Hubbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20.

With the exception of p. 68, misnumbered 66, all the misnumberings occur on two sheets of Part II. Perhaps this can be taken as an indication that the compositor was setting from a copy with separate pagination. In Part I he had only to follow the numeration before him, in Part II the numbers had to be altered throughout and on two occasions he went astray. In Vol. II there are, on the other hand, no misnumberings; but it is noticeable that Part IV, in which the mistakes were likely to occur, is printed in a heavier type than the first three Parts, and may have been set elsewhere.

The evidence already advanced proves not only the order of the two editions with separate pagination to each Part, but shows conclusively that they were published before the edition continuously paged throughout each volume. If other arguments be disregarded the plates bear witness to having been engraved to accompany an edition with separate pagination, and were used with the edition now under consideration only because they were already in existence. If the first edition was published on 28 October, and the second about the middle of November, the third may possibly have been issued early in December.

The distinguishing characteristic of this edition is continuous pagination and continuous count by signatures throughout each volume. The portrait appears in the second state. The title-pages have all been reset. In neither volume does the general title-page give any indication of edition; but 'VOL. II' appears for the first time on the title-page of the second volume (Facs. 6). The printer's ornament, found in the first and second editions on the separate title-page to Part I, disappears, and instead, beneath the title and between rules, the words 'By *Captain* Lemuel Gulliver' are printed. The verso of this title-page is left blank, unlike that of the second edition, which uses it to contain part of 'The Contents'. But the space thus lost is regained by printing the contents in

small type and compressing them on a single leaf. The preliminary matter is thus retained within twelve pages, and the whole of Part I within ten complete signatures. In the third edition only eight of the preliminary pages are numbered, as against the twelve of the second edition.

The economies effected by the second edition in Parts I and III have been described. In this edition an additional economy is secured in Vol. I. The latter pages of c. vi, Part II, are closed up a little, so that five lines which appear on p. 121 of the second edition are carried back to the previous page, and the whole chapter printed on twenty pages instead of twenty-one. By a similar expedient c. vii is confined to fifteen pages as against the sixteen of the second edition. This explains the eighty-four leaves of Part II in the third edition as compared with the eighty-five leaves of the other three octavo editions published by Motte. In Part III this edition follows the second with eighty leaves against the eighty-one of the other two octavo editions. In Part IV all the octavo editions have 104 leaves.

As a net result it may be stated that in 1726 Motte published three distinct editions of *Gulliver's Travels*, the second set from the first, and the third set from the second. In no sense are these issues of one edition. They are differentiated from each other in hundreds of instances, covering the portrait, title-pages, typographical peculiarities, the setting of chapters and pages, spelling, punctuation, and some minor points of textual variation. They agree only in general format, in a deceptive similarity of appearance, and in following a single text which contained many verbal errors and some extensive departures from the author's manuscript.

In 1727 Motte published two further editions, one an octavo, the other a duodecimo. The latter was probably the earlier of the two, but it will be more convenient, for purposes of comparison, to take the octavo first.

It has already been mentioned that Motte's fourth octavo edition presented some textual corrections furnished by Charles Ford, Swift's close friend; but these are hardly more than verbal and typographical. Almost as soon as Swift could have received a copy of the first edition we find him complaining that his manuscript had been tampered with in certain passages. He wrote to Pope: 'If I were Gulliver's friend, I would desire all my acquaintance to give out that his copy was basely mangled and abused, and added to, and blotted out by the printer; for so to me it seems in the second volume particularly.'¹ In February of the following year he repeated his complaint, writing to Knightley Chetwode, that the book had been 'mangled in the press'. The charge Swift brought against Motte at this time (and later, when Faulkner projected a Dublin edition) was a wholesale editing of certain passages of the manuscript; and he suspected the Rev. Andrew Tooke, a son of Benjamin Tooke, the bookseller, of having been employed by Motte to do the work. But the first communication Motte received on the subject confined itself to the specific correction of verbal and printer's errors only, with, occasionally, a severe comment on the manifest corruption of paragraphs and pages. The original, a letter written by Ford, and dated from 'Dublin Jan 3. 1726[7]', is preserved in the Forster Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. The first paragraph of this letter runs: 'I bought here Capt^a Gulliver's Travels, publish'd by you, both because I heard much talk of it, and because of a Rumor, that a Friend of mine is suspected to be the Author. I have read this Book twice over with great Care, as well as great Pleasure, & am sorry to tell you it abounds with many gross Errors of the Press, whereof I have sent you as many as I could find, with the Corrections of them as the plain Sense

¹ *Corresp.* iii. 368. A letter of uncertain date, but probably 27 November 1726. See also *Corresp.* iii. 378; iv. 444; v. 26.

'must lead, and I hope you will insert them when you make 'another Edition.' Ford then proceeds to call Motte's particular attention to a passage in c. vi of Part IV, in which Gulliver, talking to his Houyhnmhnm master, represents the Queen of his own country as governing without the advice of a 'first Minister'. This, Ford observes, 'is plainly false in Fact', and could not 'have been written by the same Author'. This letter, written and signed by Ford, but possibly composed by Swift, was followed by a list of corrections, which Motte adopted in what he called his second edition, though actually the fourth or fifth, the octavo of 1727. The larger faults complained of by Swift, of which an example appears in the letter, were not corrected by Ford in his list, but criticized, and to these criticisms Motte paid no attention, unless, as is not improbable, the pen-strokes through or under these comments are his handiwork. It is not quite clear why some of these remarks are underlined and others deleted, except that the more caustic criticisms seem to meet with harsher treatment. 'False and silly, infallibly not the same Author' is deleted with one line, but the incensed publisher, if it be he, strikes two lines through 'manifestly most barbarously corrupted, full of Flatnesses, &c.,' whereas 'seems to have much of the Author's manner of thinking, but in many places wants his Spirit' is merely underlined.

Ford's list of just over one hundred 'gross Errors of the Press', as he calls them in exaggerated language, actually extends to little more than literal and verbal slips, and the major ground of Swift's grievance is untouched, save for a few scathing observations upon detached passages. These Ford proceeded to set right in the copy of *Gulliver's Travels* which (in the letter above quoted) he represented himself as having bought in Dublin. In the Forster Library there is a large-paper copy of Motte's first edition interleaved for manuscript corrections. The corrections on the printed page and on

the blank leaves were previously attributed to Swift, but Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis has shown that they are in Ford's handwriting;¹ and there can be no doubt that the Forster Library large-paper *Gulliver* is the very copy to which Ford makes reference. The minor alterations on the face of the printed page number about fifty in addition to those noted in the list; and on seven of the fourteen blank interleaves, all in Vol. II and unsystematically placed, Ford has written out, in full, corrections of the 'corrupted' passages. Whether Motte ever saw these leaves, or others with the same restorations of text, it is impossible to say; but, if so, he certainly refused to make use of them. These more important alterations, in approximately the same form, and about half the corrections of the Ford copy additional to the list, first appeared in the edition of *Gulliver's Travels* published by Faulkner, the Dublin printer, in 1735.

It has been suggested that Swift's criticism of the printed text of his book was merely an expedient to escape responsibility for unpleasant political implications which might be attributed to him. But his reference to a particular passage in Part IV, and a comparison between Ford's restorations in the interleaved copy and Motte's text, show that it was the printer, who, as Swift averred, took the 'sting' out of the satire. The passages chiefly in question relate to a successful revolt against royal tyranny, to corrupt informers, with hidden reference to the impeachment of Atterbury, to the use of German mercenaries, a practice which roused great indignation in England, to the iniquities of the legal profession, at that time largely Whig and therefore obnoxious to Swift, to Prime Ministers, to government interference in State trials, to the physical and mental degeneracy of the aristocracy. Motte, or his editor, toned down these passages in order to give them a general rather than a particular reference. For

¹ See *The Athenaeum*, 29 January 1898, pp. 153, 154.

example, when Gulliver describes to his Houyhnmhm master the nature of mercenary troops, he informs him, according to Motte, that those who support themselves by this trade are a 'Kind of Princes . . . in many *Northern Parts of Europe*' (Part IV, p. 165). Ford corrects this to a 'Kind of beggarly Princes . . . in Germany and other *Northern Parts of Europe*'. It will readily be understood that, in days when a Hanoverian Prince sat on the throne of England, this was a dangerous thing to write; and even Faulkner, who was ready to go much farther than Motte, refused to print 'Germany and other'. There can be no doubt that Swift's manuscript was edited, and not without good reason, as it appeared to Motte; nor is there any justification for the suggestion that Swift's complaints were a mere subterfuge.

To some extent, however, the passages written by Ford on the blank leaves of his copy of *Gulliver's Travels* bear the appearance of going beyond plain restoration. Here, in the absence of any portion of the original manuscript, or other guide, we are left to critical inference, and it would be rash to dogmatize. Criticism was, in the first instance, directed against the Voyage to Laputa, as 'the least entertaining'¹ and below the author's standard. It might be expected that Swift would seize an opportunity to better this part of his narrative; but Ford's corrections show no partiality for Part III, as compared with Part IV. The most we can say is that the text of the first edition, supplemented by Ford's list of errata and the corrections of his interleaved copy, is as near an approach as we can hope for to the manuscript received by Motte.

It is possible now to return to Motte's fourth octavo, which presented the best text of *Gulliver's Travels* until the appearance of Faulkner's edition. Ford's list of errata contained just over one hundred corrections, and these, with two or

¹ See Gay and Pope to Swift, 17 November 1726. *Corresp.* iii. 360.

TRAVELS
INTO SEVERAL
Remote Nations
OF THE
WORLD.

By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER.

PART III.

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI,
GLUBBUDUBDRIE, LUGGNAGG and
JAPAN.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the HOUYHNNMS.

VOL. II.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected.

L O N D O N :

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE, at the *Middle-
Temple-Gate.* MDCCXXVII.

three exceptions, were adopted by Motte in the octavo of 1727. No use was made of the additional corrections, large or small, of Ford's interleaved copy.

The text and arrangement of this edition represent a reversion to the first edition. Mistakes and alterations made in the second and followed in the third edition are not continued. Each Part is separately paged, and each Part contains the same number of leaves as the corresponding Part of the first edition, except that the preliminary matter at the beginning of Vol. I is printed, as in the second and third editions, on twelve pages. Part III ends on p. 155, the leaf gained in the second edition thus being lost, and the economies practised in cc. vi and vii of Part II in the third edition, whereby eighty-five leaves are reduced to eighty-four, are not followed. Although in this edition each Part is separately paged the signatures in Vol. I run continuously to the end of the volume, whereas in Vol. II each Part is treated as a separate unit.

This edition, like its predecessors, contains a portrait, four maps, and two plans. The portrait is found both in the second and third states. A single fount of type is used throughout each volume; but Vol. II is printed in a different and narrower-faced type than that used for Vol. I. Another peculiarity is the use of a specially large italic type for the chapter contents at the head of each chapter (except the last) of Part III.

The title-page of Vol. I refers to 'Several Copies of Verses Explanatory and Commendatory' prefixed to the volume. Copies occur with twenty-four pages of verses, others with only twenty. These pages follow the leaf of the general title-page.

The general title-page to Vol. I calls this 'The Second Edition'; but Vol. II, probably with an eye on the title-page of the same volume in the second edition, is described as 'The Second Edition, Corrected' (Facs. 7). The description is, in

any case, inaccurate. Motte himself did not regard the three editions of 1726 merely as separate issues of a single edition, for one volume of the series was described as 'The Second Edition'. The word 'Corrected' was intended to indicate a more thorough revision of the text than had previously been attempted, and was justified by the incorporation of Ford's emendations.

In 1727 Motte published also a duodecimo edition in two volumes, presumably intended for readers unable or unwilling to pay the price of the larger edition. This edition was probably published earlier than the octavo of the same year, for it makes no pretence to include the Ford corrections, and both in text and arrangement it follows the third (or continuously paged) edition. It is difficult to believe that even when printing a cheap edition, Motte would have neglected to set from his last and revised text, if that course had been possible. To print the small edition from a corrected text would have involved him in no additional expenditure: he was in possession of Ford's letter and aware of Swift's dissatisfaction. The duodecimo may therefore be accepted as the fourth Motte edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, and the octavo of 1727 as the fifth.

The duodecimo edition, in two volumes, sometimes bound together, contains four maps, two plans, and, in addition, four illustrations, one to each Part, but no portrait. The pagination and signatures are consecutive throughout each volume. Some copies contain twelve pages of prefatory verses, but these are not, as in the fourth octavo edition, mentioned on the title-page, and may be regarded as an afterthought, for they are printed on a 1 a-a 6 b, following upon A 6 ('The Contents' of Part I), and preceding the map, which is followed by the text, beginning on B. They bear every appearance of being an insertion. Earlier copies were probably issued for sale without the verses; others, following upon

the fourth octavo, included a later printing of six leaves of verses.

The text presents no features for special remark. The duodecimo was set from the third octavo without attempt at correction, unless in the case of obvious typographical errors. A curious exception is the alteration of 'scratch' to 'search' (vol. ii, p. 212, l. 14), one of the corrections which appears in Ford's list of errata. No explanation of this exception seems to be forthcoming.

In 1731 Motte made up from the same sheets, with new title-pages, a second duodecimo edition. By an oversight the old separate title-page to Part I, with the date 1727, inaccurately printed MDCXXVII, was retained.

This was the last edition of *Gulliver's Travels* to be published by Motte. The series of six is not, however, a complete story of the earliest editions. In 1726-7 two editions by different publishers were printed in Dublin, an abridged version appeared in London, and, in addition, there was the serial issue of *Parker's Penny Post*. These were cheap productions, directed to reach a public unable to pay the price for an edition by Motte; and textually they are not of importance. Nor is it possible, at the close of a paper already sufficiently long, to discuss them from the point of view of the bibliographer.

An altogether different value attaches to the Dublin editions published by Faulkner and the rival Hawkesworth text issued under the auspices of Bathurst, Motte's successor. Faulkner's edition of 1735 embodies the longer Ford corrections disregarded by Motte, and further revisions, which, in part at least, almost certainly represent Swift's latest thought for the text of his book. But all this is another story.



8. Portrait of Gulliver. Faulkner's First Edition, Dublin, 1735.

VOLUME III.

Of the AUTHOR'S

WORKS.

Note. CONTAINING, *Scilicet*

TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

Remote Nations of the WORLD.

In FOUR PARTS, *viz.*

I. A Voyage to LIL-
LIPUT.

II. A Voyage to BROB-
DINGNAG.

III. A Voyage to LA-

PUTA, BALNIBARBI,
LUGGNAGG, GLUBB-
DUEBRIE and JAPAN.

IV. A Voyage to the
COUNTRY of the
HOUGHNHNMS.

By *LEMUEL GULLIVER*, first a Surgeon,
and then a CAPTAIN of several SHIPS.

————— ————— *Retroq;*
Vulgus abhorret ab his.

In this Impression several Errors in the *London* and *Dublin*
Editions are corrected.

DUBLIN:

Printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER, Printer
and Bookfeller, in *Essex-Street*, opposite to the
Bridge. MDCCLXXXV.

9. Title-page to Faulkner's First Edition.

THE COMPLETE PRESS READER ¹

By W. W. GREG



HIS little book, intended primarily for the highly efficient staff of the Oxford University Press, has grown from small beginnings into a fairly comprehensive guide to what one may call the craft as distinct from the art of letters. And we may suspect that many of those who practise writing as an Art would, but for their printers, appear before the public as uneducated scribblers, even if their compositions were intelligible at all. The present writer speaks feelingly, for he always relies on the compositor to pilot him through the strange vagaries of what in English passes for orthography. (Some one once said: 'K is for cat, in Gregorian spelling'.) The rules here laid down are of course those adopted at Oxford and are not recognized in all printing houses, but any one who wishes to prepare copy for press in an orderly fashion may be recommended to study them carefully and refer to them often.

The collection of the material for the work began as long ago as 1864, but it was not till ten years after Mr. Hart became Controller of the Oxford Press (in 1883) that it first found its way into print. Even then it did so tentatively, and it was only gradually that the English spellings were revised and approved by the high authority of James Murray and Henry Bradley, classical sections supplied by Robinson Ellis and Stuart Jones, the German revised by Karl Breul, and

¹ *Rules for Compositors and Readers at the University Press, Oxford*, by Horace Hart, M.A. London and Oxford. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

many incidental points settled by other eminent scholars. For ten years it remained the practice to distribute the pamphlet gratuitously to all seekers after instruction, but it was then discovered that copies were actually on sale in London, and publication became necessary.

The *Rules* first appeared in April 1893, the fifteenth edition (the first for publication) was issued in March 1904, the twenty-seventh is dated April 1925. The earliest edition I possess, the eighteenth (July 1904), runs to 75 pages and cost sixpence: the next is the twenty-fourth (given to me in 1918 by Mr. Hall for use in a government office of the war-mushroom type) which fills 112 pages and is priced at a shilling: the latest has grown to 135 pages and costs two shillings. The fifteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-second editions (March 1904, July 1904, and January 1912) are specially noted as 'revised and enlarged', but alterations appear to have been made in most if not all the reprints, and they are particularly extensive in the one under review. A prefatory note by the late F. J. Hall, who continued the vigilant and scholarly tradition of Horace Hart, draws attention to a long list of spellings of medical words and the adoption of the recommendations of the S.P.E. for printing foreign words (that is, anglicizing wherever possible), besides numerous other changes due to the suggestions of correspondents. A comparison with the twenty-fourth edition shows the extent of the alterations which seven years have made in typographical tradition at Oxford, and it may not be without interest to put on record the more notable among them.

From the list of difficult spellings twenty-two words have disappeared—to my regret in some cases, for I should like to feel authority behind me if I wished to write 'liny' or 'manyplies'—to make room for thirty-one others, of which perhaps the most interesting are charabanc(s), defecation, Fascism, halloaing, mortgagor, philosophers' stone, and Tsar.

The only alterations of spelling I have noticed are mediæval and primeval for mediaeval and primaeval, pott for pot as a size of paper (does this mean that the derivation from pot-mark is incorrect?) and pacifist for pacificist (but this is hardly a question of spelling). The form rhyme remains, with a permissive use of rime, and happily Shakespeare retains his traditional shape despite Sir James Murray—and please note Shakespearian. The new list of medical words and a note on chemical names fill eight pages. In the matter of hyphens, watercourse is now to be spelt as one word, some dozen words (previously undetermined) are added to the hyphenated list, while on the other hand a few have been removed—I suppose we are now to write ‘akimbo’ as one word and ‘one eighth’ as two—live stock is noted as unhyphenated. Among disputable plurals we are to write dynamos but torpedoes, Lotharios but grottoes, also apparatuses, gymnasiums, lacunas, and mausoleums (previously undetermined), while apexes, appendixes, automatons, bandits, dilettantes, formulas, nebulas, and sanatoriums are in general to supersede the more learned forms. Of foreign words and phrases, eleven are added to the roman list and five to the italic, while *confrère*, *dénouement*, *plébiscite*, pass from the latter to the former, losing their accents on the way, a fate which also befalls *débris*, *dépôt*, *détour*, *levée*, and *rôle*, while *employee* replaces *employé*. A new rule directs the printing of M.P.s, &c., without an apostrophe, and its is to follow the analogy of hers. The words *ampère*, *marconigram*, *ohm*, *volt*, and *watt* are held to be sufficiently current to drop the capital, and in the similar list of metres *alexics* (!) replaces the queer *alexics* (!) and *spenserian*, *spenserians* (!). Additional directions are given for the use of italic type in botanical and medical works and for references to Law Reports (future editions might deal with State Papers). For the division of English words we get the new rule that ‘In most divisions it is the consonantal letter that should be turned over’,

and the corresponding section on foreign words, considerably enlarged, is relegated to an appendix. A great improvement is made in the printing of dates by substituting the form 19 May 1862 for May 19, 1862: the former has long been recognized as preferable, but in 1918 Hart's objection that 'authors generally will not accept the logical form' still held; but Mr. Hall showed greater faith—one up to logic! On the vexed question of the possessive of proper names in -s a change is made, all classical names taking the apostrophe only; thus Mars' and Venus' supersede Mars's and Venus's. There is a useful new table of abbreviations of metric quantities—few general readers, probably, know the distinction between Mm. and mm. In the detailed directions for setting up works in French and German no great alterations have been made, but a few interesting points occur. Thus in French a tendency is noted to adopt the English habit of capitalizing the names of the months; also the spelling Liège is definitely adopted on the authority of the R.G.S., whereas formerly it was noted that Liège was the current French form, Liége the Belgian, though Liégeois was called for on phonetic grounds. In German the date of the introduction of the reformed spelling is corrected from 1902 to 1901, and a few points are added, including rules for rendering **ſ** by I or J, which are similar to those applicable to Elizabethan printing. A new section of 'Rules for setting up Greek works' should prove a convenience not only to compositors but to writers of limited education confronted by the pitfalls of that language—even scholars have been known to hesitate over a Greek date, say $\alpha\varsigma\varsigma'$. Lastly there is the addition of a useful appendix of French typographical terms including such as might be used by a French author correcting proofs—but one or two of the definitions are a trifle queer.

On the whole the changes consist in the addition of new matter on the one hand and small modifications of practice

on the other ; there is not much of the recasting and re-arrangement that was needed in earlier editions to bring what was originally a collection of disjointed notes into order. No doubt the process of growth will continue through future editions, but the work would seem to have attained something like definitive shape, and may now be accepted and criticized as an authoritative text-book of the press-reader's craft as practised at the Oxford Press. Only it may be remarked in passing that it will still bear a certain amount of polishing. The French and German sections in particular should be revised : two inconsistent directions for the writing of fractional quantities are given on one page (95), which also has a statement about degrees of temperature that is surely wrong, some of the explanations have no meaning that I can discover (p. 103, II), some do not clearly express what is apparently intended (p. 102, SZ), some are unnecessarily clumsy (this applies also to the paragraph on Greek 'points').

It is not to be supposed that any one, except *perhaps* the compiler, will find himself throughout in agreement with the directions contained in a work of this sort. Typographical usage must always be to some extent a compromise between strict logic (as in mathematical notation) on the one hand, and on the other the amenity of the printed page and the very limited capacity of the average person for rigorous thought or expression. The outstanding merit of the present work, as it appears to me, is that whatever the compromise adopted the problem has usually been thought out to its logical conclusion, and the rule framed with full appreciation of what is involved. I need only mention the relation between quotes and points. The Oxford Press is almost the only one in my experience that has grasped the elementary fact that quotes indicate a quotation, and that to include between them anything not in the original is simply to state what is untrue. Consider the sentences :

He said ' I love you.'

He said ' I love you ', and she slapped his face. Nine printers out of ten will place the comma within the quotes (especially if they use them double), thereby falsely implying that the words quoted are not a complete sentence. The correct rule is : When the point originally following the words quoted is the same as that demanded by the whole sentence, it may (though it need not) be placed within the quotes ; but where the whole sentence demands a different point from that of the original it must always be placed outside the quotes. This, however, applies only to what may be called pause-points, not to the significant points, queries and exclamations. These, where original, must be retained, within the quotes, the natural point of the whole sentence being then omitted. But what happens if both the whole sentence and the quotation are questions ?

Did he really say, ' Have you seen my nose ? ' ? (! !)¹
I do not think that even the Oxford Press rules provide for all eventualities.

A somewhat similar problem arises over the relation of brackets and points, but this is not treated in the present pamphlet, the six lines on p. 71 being wholly inadequate. The matter should occupy the Controller's attention, for even the Oxford compositors are apt at times to turn out proofs containing such curiosities as the following :

Ars Moriendi. Venice. [1501 ?].

Canterbury Tales [W. Caxton, 1478.]

The rules in such cases are not altogether easy to frame, and some sacrifice of logic to convenience is probably necessary. For instance, the second of these examples should in strictness run :

Canterbury Tales [, W. Caxton, 1478].

Another moot point (on which some people feel strongly) is whether, in supplying a name indicated in the original by initials only, we should write, for example, H[orace] H[art], or H[orace]. H[art].

¹ No doubt ' Ce nez qui d'un quart d'heure en tout lieu me précède '.

One could, of course, go on indefinitely pointing out small omissions or raising points on which a decision would be welcome. I will only mention one puzzle, the neglect of which surprises me. So far as I have observed no rule is laid down as to the use of roman or italic points after italic words in a roman passage. There seems a general tendency among printers to put the point, at any rate at the end of a sentence, in the same type as the preceding word, and I believe that this is the practice of the Oxford Press. But a better rule would appear to be to let the sense decide. For instance, we should have :

Can it ever be correct to say *Nemine contradicente* ?

Few writers know the correct use of *Cui bono* ?

WALKLEY'S PIRACY OF WITHER'S POEMS IN 1620

By PERCY SIMPSON



COLLECTION of Wither's Poems was fraudulently issued by the stationer Thomas Walkley in 1620 with the title:

'THE | WORKES | OF MASTER |
GEORGE WITHER, OF | LINCOLNS-
INNE, | GENTLEMAN. |

Containing {
Satyrs.
Epigrams.
Eclogues.
Sonnets
and Poems.

Whereunto is annexed a Pa- | raphrase on the Creed and the |
Lords Prayer. | LONDON, | Printed by *Iohn Beale* for
Thomas Walkley, and are to | be sold at his shop at the Eagle
and Child in | Brittaines Burse. 1620.' Beale, whom Ben
Jonson afterwards stigmatized as a 'lewd printer', did his
work very carelessly. The book is an irregular octavo: the
collation gives A to L and N to X in eights, seven leaves of L,
four of M, while Y, the final sheet, has five leaves. In L the
'Other Eclogues' should have had a title-page. In T this
irregularity has been corrected: in one British Museum copy
(with shelf-mark 238 e. 41) the title-page of *Fidelia* at T 4
is omitted and the catchword is correct, but in the other copy
(1076 c. 12) the title-page is found and the catchword has been
deleted. There are some errors in the signatures.

One oversight of publisher and printer betrays the book
when the passage is tested. They should have omitted the
'*Postscript to the Reader*' which follows *The Shepheards*

Hunting on signatures S 8 to T 4, and gives Wither's own account of the circumstances in which he allowed the poem to be published. He was always half-ashamed of that delicate lyrical vein which is now his surest title to remembrance. Friends urged him to print *The Shepheards Hunting*, but he kept it back: 'But now, by the ouermuch perswasion of some friends, I haue beene constrained to expose it to the generall view.' It was 'no part of my studie, but only a recreation in imprisonment: and a trifle, neither in my conceit fitting, nor by mee intended to bee made common; yet some, and it should seeme esteemed¹ it worthy more respect then I did, tooke paines to coppy it out, vnknowne to mee, and in my absence got it both Authorized and prepared for the Presse; so that if I had not hindred it, last Michaelmas-Terme had been troubled with it. I was much blamed by some Friends for withstanding it, . . .' This is very explicit, especially in the fixing of the date. Equally so is the concluding statement: 'Lastly, if you thinke it hath not well answered the Title of the Shepheards Hunting, goe quarrel with the Stationer, who bid himselfe God-Father, and imposed the Name according to his owne liking; and if you, or hee, finde any faults, pray mend them. valete.' Negotiations, apparently between Wither and Walkley, ending in a happy agreement, and the author even acquiescing in the change of title—all this bears the stamp of honest and open dealing.

But *The Shepheards Hunting* had been published before, in 1615, by George Norton, with such success that there had been three issues of it in that year.² And it was Norton to whom these positive statements in the 'Postscript' refer: he had tried to publish the book in the Michaelmas term of 1614, and he had 'imposed' the change of title. The evidence of this is contained in an entry in the Stationers' Register on

¹ Beale's misprint for 'esteeming'.

² Two printed by Thomas Snodham, and a third by William White.

8 October 1614, of 'A poeme called *THIRSIS huntinge day* by George Wither' to Norton. He also published in 1617, with Wither's sanction, the edition of *Fidelia*, which had been privately printed by Nicholas Okes two years before. There was evidently a good understanding between him and the poet.

An exposure of the piracy was made in Wither's *Faire-Virtue, The Mistresse of Philarete*, 'Printed for Iohn Grismand'. John Marriot co-operated with Grismand to produce the book, and he contributed a prefatory address headed 'The Stationer to the Reader', really written by Wither and, as usual, apologetic about publication. Marriot secured a copy of the poem; it was anonymous, though many guessed the authorship. 'Whereupon, I got it authorifed, according to Order: intending to publish it, without further inquiry. But, attaining by chance a more perfect knowledge to whom it most properly belonged: I thought it fitting to acquaint him therewithall. And did so; desiring also, both his good will to publish the same, and leave to passe it vnder his Name.¹ Both which, I found him very vnwilling to permit' because of 'the seeming lightnesse' of the subject. Finally Wither gave way to Marriot's pressure, and explained how he came to compose the poem, but he refused to write a preface. 'Yet (to acknowledge the truth) I was so earnest with him, that, as busie as he would seem to be, I got him to write this *Epistle* for me: And haue therunto set my Name.' The work was entered on the Stationers' Register for Marriot and Grismand on 31 January 1622.

At the end of the book on signature P 8 is an authoritative statement about the pirated poems of 1620. This apparatus of prefaces, postscripts, and explanations suggests the hand of Wither, though Marriot has put his initials to it.

¹ The uncertainty which Marriot felt about the authorship doubtless explains the two states of the title-page: the Bodleian copy (Mason, A.A. 237) has 'Written by Him-selfe', the British Museum copy (1076 c. 21/2) has 'Written by GEO: WITHER'.

The Stationers Postscript

There bee three or foure Songs¹ in this Poeme aforegoing, which were stolen from the Authour, and heeretofore impertinently imprinted in an imperfect and erroneous Copie, foolishly intituled His Workes; which the Stationer hath there falsely affirmed to bee Corrected and Augmented² for his owne Aduantage, and without the said Authours knowledge, or respect to his credit. If therfore you haue seene them formerly in those counterfet Impressions, let it not be offenseiue that you finde them againe in their proper places; and in the Poeme to which they appertaine. Vale.

I. M.

The pirate had every reason to believe that his venture would be lucrative. Wither's poetic reputation was high in 1620. His works sold well and were reprinted. In the ordinary course of things the edition might have been expected to be off the hands of the publisher in the two years in which it had no competitor in the market. But Walkley had not reckoned with his brother-rogue in the transaction, the 'lewd printer', whose commercial instincts at any rate were pretty shrewd, however low his other qualifications might be. A document preserved in the Public Record Office gives us an entertaining peep behind the scenes. In 1625 Walkley, imprisoned on a charge of debt by Beale, petitioned, with deep earnestness, but with some lack of humour, that a stand should be made for 'equity and conscience' over the printing bill. He had agreed with Beale, he says, for an issue of 1,500 copies of 'Wither's Works'; the book was to contain twenty-two sheets; Beale had from him eighty reams of crown paper at

¹ These are a different version of the song entitled in the *Workes* 'Inter Equitand: Palindod', a rearrangement of 'Hence away, you Syrens, leaue me', and a better text of the famous 'Shall I wasting in despair'.

² In the *Workes*, sig. T4, the poem of *Fidelia* is said to be 'Newly Corrected and augmented'. Walkley had issued it, with this announcement, separately in 1619.

4s. 6d. a ream; he was to have 4s. a ream for the printing, and he was to return the 'waste or ouer-plus leaves'. Walkley reckoned that the selling price of the book would be a shilling. Beale got his money, but broke the contract, which was strictly 'priuate', as well it might be. His supply of copies was seven or eight hundred short; most of the copies he did supply were imperfect; and he stuck to the surplus paper. He was deaf to repeated appeals and at last, weary of Walkley's importunity, or fearing something more effective than remonstrances, had his victim arrested on a charge of not paying the bill. Walkley, completely helpless, asks for the case to be heard in the Court of Requests.

The document is in the Court of Requests Proceedings, 395 James I, bundle 6, part ii, no. 25. It is here printed for the first time:

To the kings most excellent Ma:^{tie}

In all humble wise Comp[^l]ain[i]ng sheweth vnto yo^r most excellent Ma.^{tie} yo^r loyall and obedient Subiect Thomas Walkley of London Stacioner. That whereas about foure or fve yeares since one Iohn Beale of London Printer (vpon agreement wth yo^r subiect) was to print for yo^r Subiect fiftene hundred books Intituled Withers Workes, Conteyning 22 sheets in euery booke or thereabouts and therevpon yo^r subiect did deliuer vnto the saide Beale eightie Reames of Crowne Paper price euery reame 4^s-6^d and it was agreed likewise that yo^r subiect should giue him for the printing thereof after the rate of 4^s for euery reame and that the saide Beale should deliuer vnto yo^r saide subiect, the saide number of fiftene hundred Bookes, perfected together wth the waste or ouerplus leaues of y^e saide booke; which bookes beinge done euery booke was worth after the rate of Twelue pence abooke, and the said Beale delayeng to deliuer to yo^r subiect the saide bookes yo^r subiect (in the yeares of our Lord God 1619 and 1620 in w^{ch} yo^r Subiect should haue had the same

deliuered) did diuerse times Demand the same, but the saide Beale wth faire pmises put of yo^r Subiect off from time to time and in the Interim gott all¹ of the saide mony agreed to be payed by yo^r subiect vnto him for the printing thereof and yo^r subiect hath not asyet had all the saide Bookes and but a smale parte thereof to his greate hinderance losse and damage yet not wthstanding the saide Beale well perceauing that yo^r Subiect intended to sue him for the same as alsoe for the said pap w^{ch} should remaine ouerplus of the said Bookes, did arrest yo^r Subiect wthin the Citty of London for mony pretended to be due vnto him for the printing of the said Bookes, where in truth there is none due at all to him, but there is a greate deale due vnto yo^r subiect from the said Beale, aswell for the said pap w^{ch} should remaine ouerplus of the said Bookes as alsoe for the said Bookes w^{ch} he should haue deliuered vnto yo^r subiect being to the number of about seuen or eight hundred and those bookes w^{ch} yo^r subiect did receaue of the said Beale were for the most pte of them all impfect soe as yo^r subiect could allmost make noe benefitt of the same by reason whereof and of the losse and hinderance w^{ch} yo^r subiect hath had and susteyned aswell for the want of his Bookes as alsoe the want of his pap w^{ch} would haue besteeded him in and towards the printing of other Bookes, and the want of the waste or ouerplus leaues w^{ch} would haue pfected the impfect Bookes, yo^r subiect is greatly dampnified In tender Consideration wherof and for asmuch as the dealing of the said Beale is altogether ag^t equity and good Conscience and tendeth to the greate hinderance loss and dammage of yo^r pore subiect and to his exprefs wronge and for that yo^r subiect hath diuerse times in a uery gentle and frendly manner demanded the said Bookes and remainder of pap and waste, of the saide Beale the w^{ch} he hath refused and asyet doth refuse to deliuer and for that yo^r Subiect is wthout remedy by the

¹ Here several words have been erased.

strict Course of the Comon Lawe for reco^y thereof in regard the faide agreement was priuate betweene them (yo^r subiect reposing greate trust and Confidence in the honesty of the faide Beale) therefore may it please yo^r most excellent Ma:^{tie} the p^mises Considered to releue yo^r subiect in equity and yo^r subiect yet hopeth that the faide Iohn Beale will in his answere hearevnto vpon his Corporall oath sett forth and declare the truth of the faide agreements and euery perticular of the p^mises may it therfore please yo^r most excellent Ma:^{tie} to be gratioufly pleased to grant vnto yo^r subiect yo^r Ma:^{ties} most gratiuous writt of Priuy Seale to be directed to the sayd Iohn Beale Commanding him thereby at a Certaine day and vnder a Certaine paine there in to be limited, personally to bee and appeare before yo^r Highness at yo^r Ma:^{ties} Pallace of Whitehall at Westm[ⁿ]ster in yo^r Ma:^{ties} Courte of requesty then and there to make answere to euery pticular of the p^mises vpon his Corporall oath and further to stand and abide such order and dere^c: there in as to yo^r Ma:^{tie} and yo^r Councell there shall seeme to stand wth equity and Conscience and in the meane time to be gratioufly pleased to grant vnto yo^r subiect yo^r most gratiuous writt of Iniunction Commanding the faide Beale his Councell solicitor or Atturney to stay his suite now Commenced in London ag.^t yo^r Subiect vntill the hearing and determining of y^e Cause by yo^r Ma:^{tie} or yo^r Ma:^{ties} Councell in yo^r Ma:^{ties} most honorable Court of requesty and yo^r subiect shall dayly pray for yo^r Ma:^{tie} in all health and Happines longe to raigne ouer vs./

Edw Trotman:/

The document is endorsed :

xix^o die Nouembris Anno R^e Regis Iacobi

Anglie ffrancie et hibni^e xxij^o et Sco: lvij^o/

Vocetur defend' p nunti^o Camere/

The last sentence of the endorsement shows that Beale was cited to answer the charge, but there is no record of the verdict. Probably the case was settled by agreement.

A TECHNICAL USE OF BOOK

By R. W. CHAPMAN



READERS of the Lists of Subscribers so often printed in eighteenth-century books are familiar with the use of *book* where we now say *copy*. 'Alexander Pope, Esq; two books'; 'Mr Dodsley, twelve books'. I found a rather striking example in the archives of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press: Minutes of the Delegates for Printing 31 [*sic*] April 1703:

'Rec^d of Mr John Hull 30 Books of the 1st & 2^d vol. of Dr Morrison herbal at £2 : 10 : 0.'

Among writers, *book* seems to have been regularly used (in contexts more or less explanatory) for author's or presentation copies. 'I am sorry', writes Johnson to Boswell soon after the publication of *A Journey to the Western Islands*, 'that I could get no books for my friends in Scotland. Mr Strahan has at last promised to send two dozen to you.' In a letter to Cadell, who had complained that 'books' were lent about among Johnson's friends, to the detriment of the sale (of the *Lives of the Poets*), he writes, 'Do not let us teize one another about books.'

Writing to Lucy Porter, 23 March 1759, Johnson says, 'I am going to publish a little story book, which I will send you when it is out.' *Rasselas* was published in April; and on 10 May Johnson wrote (as reported by Croker), 'I sent last week some of my works, one for you, one for your aunt Hunter, . . . and one for Kitty.'

'Some of my works' seems an odd expression for 'some

copies of my little story book'. If it is jocular, it is not in Johnson's jocular vein. There is not, as far as I know, any resemblance in Johnson's hand between *b* and *w*; but I think he wrote 'some of my books'. I find that Mr. Justice MacKinnon, in some notes on the Letters which he has communicated to me, offers the same correction.

If one more example may be permitted, here is an intricate one: writing to Thomas Warton, 28 November 1754, Johnson says that he is going to send, to their common friend Wise, a Finnick Dictionary; 'but I keep it back that it may make 'a set of my own books of the new edition with which I shall 'accompany it more welcome'.

Now, in the first place, these words do not mean what they would mean to-day; it is unlikely that in 1754, or in any year, Johnson had a 'set of his works' to give to any one. Further, there had been no 'new edition' of his works. If we suppose that 'a set of my own books' means 'a set of a work of my own' (in more than one volume), why did he write thus and not 'a set of the new edition of my own book' or the like? The expression is awkward. But, secondly, what book was it? Birkbeck Hill says 'No doubt *The Rambler*'. But no edition of *The Rambler* was published between 1752 and 1756. The *new edition* can only be *The Adventurer*, of which the second (first collected) edition, in four volumes, is dated 1754. But it is impossible that Johnson should call *The Adventurer*, in which he had only a minor share, 'my own book', or books, in the ordinary sense. The meaning is 'a set of my own (presentation) copies of the new edition'. (Warton would know what was meant, since his brother Joseph was one of the contributors.)

A close parallel is in *The Daily Post*, 9 May 1739: 'Where may be had the few remaining Books of the Royal Paper Edition. Price 5s.'

A NOTE ON SHAKESPEARIAN END-PAPERS

By GEOFFREY KEYNES



THE bindings of books bound in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries have provided many surprises, and no good bibliophile will pass lightly over one of these books in its original binding without having glanced at the end-papers to see whether they have been pasted down and, if not, whether they provide any manuscript or printed matter of interest. The waste sheets which the binders of the seventeenth century sometimes inserted between the boards and the ordinary plain end-paper, commonly prove to be of no interest. Very often they are not present, for they were probably inserted to protect the clean end-papers proper during the process of putting on the covers, and in most cases were removed by the binder before the book was sent out to his customers. It may therefore be of interest to record an instance in which the end-papers are of an unusual nature.

The volume, which is in my own possession, is a clean and crisp copy of the first edition of Fuller's *Holy Warre*, Cambridge, 1639, fo. It is in a sound contemporary binding of whole calf, and at either end is part of an unfolded sheet of the first edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, 1640, 8vo. The sheets, which bear the signatures B and D, were too large to be included entire, but each shows almost the whole of eight pages of text with portions of four more. The text of these pages does not differ in any way from the published text, so that the sheets were evidently waste rather than proofs. I obtained the volume from the catalogue of an Exeter bookseller some years ago, and it contains no marks to suggest

that it had previously been in the hands of any other bookseller. Probably it came from a country house library and, until the present time, had not been in London since it was first bound.

The only point of bibliographical interest is the question of how these waste sheets came to be used in this particular book. Fuller's *Holy Warre* is dated 1639 on the printed title-page, and was printed at Cambridge by Thomas Buck. The *Imprimatur* is dated 13 March 1638, so that the book is likely to have been published early in 1639. The edition was soon sold out, and a second edition, for which the type was entirely reset, was published in 1640. Although the first edition was printed in Cambridge it need not necessarily have been bound there. Marshall's engraved title-page adds the information that the book was sold by *Iohn Williams at ye Crane in St. P. Church-yard*. Shakespeare's *Poems*, on the other hand, were *Printed at London by Tho. Cotes, and are to be sold by Iohn Benson, dwelling in St. Dunston's Church-yard*. How, then, did a book which almost certainly ought to have been bound in 1639 for John Williams, come to contain waste sheets derived from a book which was apparently not printed, and certainly not bound, until 1640 for a different publisher, John Benson? Many possible explanations might be brought forward. Probably copies of both books were sewn and boarded by a binder who was the publisher of neither. This particular copy of *The Holy Warre* may have been overlooked and have been sewn in 1640, later than the rest of the edition, so that some waste sheets of Shakespeare's *Poems* were already lying in the shop. Had he realized how much innocent pleasure his use of these particular sheets as end-papers was destined to afford, the binder of *The Holy Warre* would have included them in all the copies that he happened to have in the shop. Perhaps he did; but if so, few have survived, for I have looked in many.

FREDERICK JOHN HALL



T is impossible to let this number of *The Library* go out without a few words in commemoration of Mr. Frederick Hall, Controller of the Oxford University Press since April 1915, who died on 24 August, when our September number was already passed for press. From an excellent obituary notice in *The Times* we learn that Mr. Hall was born in November 1864, joined the University Press as junior clerk in the Controller's counting-house in 1878, and from 1900 to 1915 worked in the London office under Henry Frowde. During the ten years since he succeeded that great printer, Horace Hart, as Controller of the University Press, Mr. Hall printed many books for the Bibliographical Society, and was unsparing in the pains he took to give them the best possible form, so that they should be worthy both of the Society and of the great press which he controlled. Perhaps the most notable of the books he printed for us was Sir William Osler's *Incunabula Medica*, and here he had the added incentive of affection for the Regius Professor whose interest in the University Press was unfailing. The monograph, though it lacked, alas, its author's supervision and presented many difficulties, is certainly one of the most beautiful the Society has issued. The planning of Mr. Gordon Duff's *Fifteenth-Century English Books* was another great success, and the two volumes of Professor Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle-English Religious Verse* yet another. When *The Library* had to assume a form which should range with our fifteen volumes of *Transactions* and yet retain some reminiscence of its own twenty volumes under the editorship

of Sir John MacAlister, Mr. Hall helped to solve the problem, and also dealt successfully with the successive *Supplements to the Transactions*, each one of which had its own difficulties. I owe him a special debt of gratitude for the infinite pains he took in producing one specimen page after another for the *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, which is now in type to the end of K. We tried it first in long lines and then in columns, and in one type after another, and with variant methods of notation for the names of libraries and collections, until we were both satisfied that we had got the best. Certainly the Bibliographical Society has deep cause to be grateful to the Master Printer who took so strong a personal interest in one after another of its publications.

There is the same story to tell of the books for the British Museum in which Mr. Hall and I were associated, two volumes of the great *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth century* and the Short-Title Catalogues of the Spanish and French books in the Museum printed before the close of 1600. Both these had to be marvels of clearness and compression, and they are. It was the same again in planning the form of one of the latest and most difficult works with which I have been concerned, the *World List of Scientific Periodicals*, and with one of the earliest in which we were jointly connected, the reproduction in 1916 of the second of the two 1598 editions of Shakespeare's *Richard II* from the copy in Mr. W. A. White's library at New York. Book-building has long been one of my hobbies, and I always specify as precisely as I can what kind of a page I want, and in every instance Mr. Hall gave me exactly what I wanted, with the added touches only possible to a master of his craft who seemed to know every bit of type in the vast printing house he controlled.

I learnt much about printing during this ten years' association with Mr. Hall over so many different books, as I had

previously learnt much from Mr. Hart and Mr. Jacobi. He was always willing to place his practical knowledge of printing at the service of bibliographers, and I remember especially the emphasis with which he backed me up in my refusal to believe that printing from dictation could ever have been a normal method of procedure, either in Shakespeare's time or at any other. His official calls at the British Museum to report progress on the Museum publications were always a delight, and despite the long list of things to be done which he mostly carried with him, he never allowed himself to seem hurried. Naturally the talk was almost all strictly business talk, and it was only now and again that something led him to tell me of his pleasure at a recent visit of the staff of the Cambridge University Press, or how much he looked forward all the week to his Sunday walk with his big dog. All the same it was impossible to talk even for a few minutes with Mr. Hall without conceiving a respect for a master of his craft so obviously keen to help and so entirely devoid of any kind of pretentiousness, and as in the course of our association I came to know how much he cared for the welfare of his staff as well as for the honour of the University Press, respect and gratitude ripened into affection, and there are few business friends whose death has brought to me so great a sense of personal loss.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

REVIEWS

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Band I. Abano-Alexius. Leipzig, 1925, Verlag von KARL W. HIERSEMANN. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, W. 1. Price £3 7s. 6d.) pp. lxiii, 682. To be completed in twelve volumes.

THE real test of a work like this can only be applied in the use of it over a fairly long period of time, and perhaps this, or a subsequent volume may be reviewed in *The Library* by some active worker who will be able to write of it with greater knowledge, but as after Proctor's death it fell to me to plan the British Museum *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth century*, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of welcoming the first instalment of this still larger enterprise. This *Gesamtkatalog* is not only a great work in its size and the number of volumes of which it is to consist, nor again merely in respect to its scope, imposing as this is; it is greatly conceived and certainly in its broad lines, leaving technical minutiae for later discussion, greatly executed. From Dr. Erich von Rath's preface we learn that the decision to undertake it and the formation of the Kommission date from 1904, and that the cataloguing of the incunables in German libraries began some two years later and was completed in 1911 when 145,484 copies in 676 libraries had been registered. A specimen list of four hundred books not known to Hain was published in 1910 and the very valuable *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts* in 1914. All this time the Kommission was presided over by Dr. Konrad Haebler, who was succeeded in 1920 by Dr. Ernst Crous, well known to many of our members by his researches in English libraries. The place of Dr. Crous has now been

taken by Dr. Erich von Rath, under whose guidance the work will no doubt steadily go forward on the lines laid down by the first president, our honorary member Dr. Haebler. With one exception all the original members of the Kommission are happily still alive. The exception is Herr Konrad Burger, who died in 1912, and whose name should always be held in honour, since it was he who by publishing a Printer-Index to 'Hain' created a new interest in incunables, to which we owe Proctor's great work, and the Museum catalogue, and in no small degree this which is now making its appearance.

While the new president of the Kommission has contributed the preface to the catalogue, the introduction, which describes and explains, step by step, the contents of a typical entry, is written by Dr. Crous. The most obvious criticism I have to offer in this notice is that as special agents have been appointed for the publication of the book in England, Holland, Italy, and France, it would surely have been wise to print these eight pages in each of these languages, so that every subscriber should be able to read them easily. The present volume already contains one inset (four pages giving the Hain numbers of the incunables here described), and if it were desired that the book as bound should be all-German, a similar inset giving a translation of the introduction should certainly have been provided and might still with advantage be issued.

Following the Introduction come two appendixes, the first giving a conspectus of the types employed in printing the entries with the purpose for which each is used, the second explaining exactly how the difficulties of bracketed words in title-pages and the occurrence of red and black printing in the same line have been met. Then follows a page giving upwards of a hundred general abbreviations and their meaning; then nine pages of the abbreviations used for books of reference; then twenty-two pages giving the abbreviations used for (at a rough count) some two thousand different libraries and

collections. I mention all these details as giving some idea of the scale on which the catalogue has been planned, and the orderly preparation which makes it possible to give these lists in the first instalment.

Coming to the text we find that each series of entries under the same author begins with his name in majuscules, followed by a brief biographical note and (in long headings) an index of his works. Titles are repeated for every edition, which makes for clearness. The collation includes number of leaves, enumeration of sheets by signatures, number of columns, number of lines, enumeration of types numbered chronologically, enumeration of capitals, wood-cuts, and printer's marks (if used). The descriptions are full, and are printed in roman or black letter according to the type of the original, extraneous matter being in italics. References follow: first to standard works, then to facsimiles, finally to the locations of copies, which in one case (No. 867, Koberger's edition of the *Destructorium vitiorum* of Alexander Carpentarius) run to over eighty, ending 'und zahlreiche andere'. For two others I have noticed (No. 699, Albertus Magnus, *De Muliere forti*, Cologne, Quentell, 1499, and No. 836, Albumasar, *De magnis Coniunctionibus*, Augsburg, E. Ratdolt, 1489) over sixty copies are registered, and the same words appended. Where the locations amount to twenty or less 'und einige andere' is the final formula, and all copies known to the compilers up to ten have been enumerated. Almost all the very common books are in Latin.

In contrast with these works, without which no monastic library was considered complete, we find a very large number which are known only from single copies. Many of these are educational books and many others are documents. When totals are made up these two classes will account for a large proportion of those 'not in Hain'. The others, it seems probable, will be mainly French, Spanish, Dutch, and English

works. Curiously enough, the catalogue opens with no fewer than five English-printed books, two editions of the *Abbaye of the Holy Ghost*, and three of the *Abbreuiamentum Statutorum*, and of these only one was known to Hain. Under Alexander de Villa Dei, whom schoolboys had good reason for hating, there are here 279 entries against 108 in Hain. Under 'Ablassbrief' and 'Ablassverkündigung' 102 documents are registered, not one of them in Hain. On the other hand, of Latin books, other than educational, printed in Germany or Italy, Hain had missed comparatively few. Bavarian libraries were rich in them. The percentage of extant incunabula of any class missed by the present compilers must be extraordinarily small, and it is a pleasure to note that their numbers are not swollen, as I feared they might be, by the inclusion of an unreasonable number of the little undated books which booksellers assign hopefully to c. 1495, and pessimistic bibliographers to c. 1505. The *Gesamtkatalog*, indeed, must approach so near to finality that it may possibly close a chapter in bibliography, and induce bibliographers and collectors to go on to later books. Perhaps if it does this, it will be another substantial point to its credit.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

The New Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, &c. Second Series. Parts viii, ix, nos. 136-55. Photographed and printed by Frederick Hall at the Oxford University Press, London. 1924.

PARTS viii and ix of Series II of the facsimiles published by the New Palaeographical Society contain twenty plates, reproduced with the usual skill of the Oxford University Press: they are taken from manuscripts in the British Museum, the Vatican Library, the Royal Library at Brussels, and one or two from private collections: they are well up to the Society's high standard in general interest.

Of the four Greek plates two show non-literary hands; a letter (A. D. 5-6) in an almost Ptolemaic semi-cursive and a contract for the sale of land, written soon after A. D. 365 in the Oxyrhynchite nome, in a normal cursive. The other two show writing of A. D. 1111 and a graceful cursive of 1437.

Among the literary Latin scripts, attention may be called to an Irish text (ninth century) of the Gospels, originally illustrated by Irish miniatures: most of these were lost, and their places supplied by Anglo-Saxon miniatures (about a century later) of the Winchester school. The St. Luke of both sets is fortunately preserved, and the two are here reproduced for comparison.

A Visigothic Lucan (late eleventh or early twelfth century) is a valuable addition to our examples of this comparatively rare script: among hands which can be localized we may mention a Sacramentary (end of twelfth century) of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Martin at Weingarten (diocese of Constance), of which both the writing and illuminations are typically South German, and a St. Augustine written in 1277 by a monk of the Abbey of Cambrai (diocese of Cambrai).

From an artistic point of view the miniatures (1376) by Raoulet d'Orléans for a French translation of Aristotle's Politics are of a high order of merit: they were made under the supervision of Nicholas Oresme, who had translated the work into French for Charles V of France. The best page shows the contrast of the evil politics (tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy) and the good (monarchy, aristocracy, and timocracy) by the manner in which they are treating their subjects: punishments and tortures on the one hand, counsel and reason on the other.

The collection ends with a few Latin non-literary hands, including a page of the court-roll of the Countess of Kent's manor of Alton for 1 October 1338, on which may be seen an interesting action by Radulphus le yonger against Henry

Astil for assault and battery on Trinity Sunday : the defendant objected that the plaintiff had failed to plead that his conduct was *contra pacem regis vel ballivorum hujus libertatis*, to which Radulphus replied *quod in curia baronis non est necesse dicere contra pacem*. The court seemed uncertain, and adjourned the action, but we do not know how this interesting legal point was finally settled.

S. GASELEE.

G. B. Bodoni's Preface to the Manuale Tipografico of 1818. Now first translated into English with an Introduction by H. V. MARROT. London : Elkin Mathews, Ltd., 1925. pp. x, 58. Price 15s. net.

BODONI's preface, written shortly before his death in 1813 for the new Type Specimen Book which he was then preparing and which was published five years later, has long been regarded as one of the minor classics of typography, and it is useful to have it in a convenient form in translation, even though it can hardly be of much service to the modern printer. He will indeed find it curiously up to date in the subjects discussed, many of which are still matters of controversy to-day, but the arguments used are by no means always to-day's arguments. Thus the comparative merits of large and small books are discussed at length, but at a time when abnormalities of vision were less generally corrected by spectacles, it was perhaps natural for Bodoni to regard these two kinds as primarily suitable for long- and short-sighted persons respectively, and to see in the myopic traveller's ability to read small print and therefore to carry with him in his journeys a considerable library, a real compensation for his inferior power of appreciating architecture and natural scenery. Bodoni himself, as we should expect, is all for the large and splendid volume, the chief objection to which is its cost, for the spacious eighteenth century seems to have known nothing of the modern difficulty of finding house-room for such things. On somewhat more

modern lines is the discussion of ornament and whether the beauty of a book should be derived solely from the excellence of the type and workmanship or whether, on the one hand, ornaments in relief printed with the type, and on the other hand engravings, which Bodoni regards as the product of a different art, should be admitted. In this matter Bodoni is indeed perhaps too modern, for one may discern the tendency, common nowadays, to criticize the product of a craft from the craftsman's view-point, rather than from that of the person for whom the product is intended. The point should surely be not how the several parts of a book came into being, but whether or not they form a harmonious whole. Bodoni, though he would not necessarily reject all ornament, would keep it very strictly subordinate to the type-page: in the genuine classic it is better omitted altogether.

In this and in all other respects the book is of course a defence of its author's own practice and when he praises the attainment of the maximum sharpness of impression by means of the blackest ink and the brightest and smoothest paper, calendered after printing, it is only what we should expect. The better lighting of our houses, both by day and night, has perhaps had as much to do with the change in fashion as regards brilliant printing as increased artistic sensibility has. Bodoni's discussion of the actual type-forms has naturally an important place in the preface, but beyond enumerating the four chief principles from which all beauty would seem to proceed, namely regularity, neatness, good taste, and charm, he really has not much to say. The passage is sensible enough, as are his further remarks concerning the advantages and disadvantages of lighter and heavier faces, but in matters of type-design theory seems of quite minor importance, and it is doubtful whether any designer has been or could be much helped by such considerations as are here put forward. The remaining portion of the essay consists of an historical account

of the various learned types, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, &c., a subject in which Bodoni was especially interested, but into which we need not follow him.

The pleasantly written account of Bodoni and his work which the translator has prefixed to it, adds greatly to the value of this interesting little book.

R. B. MCKERROW.

Bok- och Bibliotekshistoriska Studier tillägnade Isak Collijn på hans 50-årsdag. Almquist & Wiksell, Uppsala, 1925. pp. xviii, 516. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

It is a truly imposing gift which the chief of the Royal Library at Stockholm has received on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday—this thick quarto volume, excellently printed and illustrated, comprising no less than 35 separate contributions and including a bibliography of Dr. Collijn's own works, large and small, to the number of 288. Scandinavian, German, and French savants are among the contributors, and while a large proportion of the articles are of course concerned with Swedish or Danish book-lore—among these may be mentioned an article of some length on Peter von Selow, the Dutchman who worked as type-founder and printer in Stockholm from 1618 to 1648—quite a number are of a more general scope. Bookbinding, for instance, comes in for much attention: Dr. Hans Loubier argues for a new division of the work of Grolier into six chronological stages of development; Dr. Husung describes and figures a fine specimen of Florimond Badier's work, signed and dating from 1659, in the Prussian State Library; and Hr. Nielsen an extraordinary seventeenth-century volume now at Ribe, consisting of two octavo tracts as a central core with five sextodecimos, opening at right angles to them, bound so as to fit along their sides. In view of Dr. Collijn's distinction as an incunabulist, it is not surprising to find a large amount of space devoted to early

printing. Monsieur M. L. Polain shows that there are two issues of the undated Vincentius Bellouacensis, *Speculum doctrinale*, printed by Adolf Rusch at Strasburg, about one-third having been set up twice over. Proctor (nos. 252, 253) was uncertain as to whether it was a case of two issues or two editions, and the present reviewer would have been saved a good deal of time and hard manual labour if he had known earlier of Monsieur Polain's notes. Monsieur H. Omont describes two very rare books, *La vie de S. Martin* and *Officium B.V.M.*, both completed at Tours on the same day, 7 May 1496. Herr A. Birkenmajer, of Cracow, discusses the various editions of Johannes Versor's tracts on Physics printed at Cologne and Lyons (Hain 16022, 23, 42-9). Professor Voulliéme writes on the bibliography of Heinrich Knobloch's work at Heidelberg, with especial reference to the earliest German edition of the Totentanz (Berlin Cat. no. 2634). This book, which contains material used by Johann Zainer at Ulm, appears to be really ascribable to Knobloch, and the same printer's claim to be also considered as the 'Printer of Lindelbach', that is, the first printer at Heidelberg, is undeniably much stronger than that of the brothers Johann and Conrad Hist which the B.M. Incunabula Catalogue inclined to support in its third volume.

Interest of a somewhat unusual kind attaches to a paper by Professor Haebler on two objects preserved in the Germanische Museum at Nuremberg which appear to have escaped attention heretofore. They are two rectangular tablets of baked clay, one lettered in low relief with a German metrical prayer to St. Sebastian against the plague, the other bearing, also in low relief, a representation of the Man of Sorrows with a German prayer above and the date 1489. Unlike the rest of the lettering, this date is in reversed script and Professor Haebler suggests that it was added later, though it is not quite easy to see why. Traces of mortar adhering to the back

and sides show that these tablets were once built into a wall, but we can scarcely assume that they formed a bizarre kind of mural decoration, and it is certainly most natural to suppose, with Professor Haebler, that they are moulds from which to cast a species of metal stereotype for printing purposes, subsequently used for 'stopping a hole to keep the wind away'. Unquestionably, as Professor Haebler says, a sheet struck off from such a plate would be first cousin to the notorious 'Doctrinalia gettez en molle' of the Abbot of Cambrai, so that the tablets can be easily made to add a fresh intricacy to the problem of the earliest typographical processes, the date 1489 merely supplying a negligible *terminus ante quem*.

There remains to be noticed an article dealing with the career of Ludwig Hain, the author of the *Repertorium*, by Professor E. von Rath, who has been able to draw on fresh documentary material and thus to throw light on much that has hitherto been quite obscure. Hain, who was a competent Orientalist as well as a good classic, came to Weimar at the age of twenty-one to help in arranging the books and papers left by Büttner at his death in 1801, flirted with Goethe's Christiane and once or twice dined with the great man himself. In 1812 Brockhaus the publisher appointed him editor of the well-known *Konversations-Lexikon* but summarily dismissed him eight years later on hearing that he had secretly contracted to edit a similar encyclopaedia for a rival publisher, Hahn, and had also diverted to his own use moneys received for books sold out of his employer's stock. Hain's apparently assured career went to pieces. Thenceforward, first at Vienna and then at Munich, he lived from hand to mouth as a literary hack, and of several comprehensive schemes which he contemplated from time to time only one, the *Repertorium* (at first called *Catalogus alphabeticus*), ever materialized. Even this was rejected by several publishers before Cotta took

it up in 1822, and Hain, who had greatly under-estimated its bulk, gradually fell into long arrears with it, leaving it unfinished at his death in 1836. It is a sad story, but the dismal circumstances under which his work was done cannot but enhance the credit always acknowledged to be due to Hain for his extraordinary accuracy and thoroughness, and students of early printing may after all not be so ready as Professor von Rath assumes to let the *Repertorium* and its author's memory die when the last volume of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* has been completed.

V. SCHOLDERER.

A. C. KLEBS et E. DROZ. *Remèdes contre la peste. Fac-similés, notes et liste bibliographique des incunables sur la peste.* E. Droz, E. Nourry, Paris, 1925. pp. 95. 9½ × 7½ in.

THIS book constitutes the inaugural volume of a series entitled *Documents scientifiques du xv^e siècle*, and comprises facsimiles of five pest-tractates in the vernacular printed in France, four before 1501 and the fifth about 1520, together with notes by Mlle Droz and a comprehensive bibliography by Dr. Klebs, who has succeeded in recording 130 items. The work is of much interest to students both of books and of medical history, especially notable being the first of the facsimiles, a poem of 90 ten-line stanzas printed by Le Roy at Lyons about 1476; only one imperfect copy of the original survives and the text has been completed from a manuscript. This strange composition turns out to be a translation of the well-known *Tractatus pestilentiae* generally fathered, for some mysterious reason, upon Benedictus Canuti, Bishop of Västerås in Sweden in 1461-2, but really, as Professor Sudhoff has shown, written by Johannes Jacobi (Jean Jasme), a physician who became rector of Montpellier University in 1364. On the evidence of Dr. Klebs's bibliography, which specifies no

less than thirty-two editions, including translations into English (*A little book against the pestilence*, Gordon Duff nos. 72-4) and Portuguese, as well as French, it was by far the most popular of the early pest-books, and in view of its insistence on cleanliness and fresh air as prophylactics appears to have well deserved its popularity.

V. SCHOLDERER.

The British Academy. The Annual Shakespeare Lecture, 1925. From Henry V to Hamlet. By HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER. London. Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. pp. 29. 1s. net.

MR. GRANVILLE-BARKER'S Shakespeare lecture before the British Academy last May stands out not only as of specially important content, but as being (so far as my reading extends) as fine a lecture as has ever been given on Shakespeare. It must be owned that Mr. Barker, having so much to say, exceeded all reasonable length for a single lecture, his text extending to nearly twelve thousand words. This is too much for the effective attention of most listeners, and the strain of carrying on his argument tells in the second half on Mr. Barker himself, so that at one point even a well-disposed listener or reader may for a moment think that his guide has lost his bearings. Soon, however, the argument clears again and as it proceeds to its practical conclusion carries all the more momentum from the brief check.

In the first half of this crowded lecture Mr. Barker displays the unique greatness of Shakespeare in the touches, constantly increasing in number and intensity, by which through a few words of comment or self-revelation in a speech or dialogue, a character, major or minor, leaps into warm-blooded life. He takes his first example from *Love's Labour's Lost*:

We laugh the play through at the ridiculous Armado; no mockery, not the crudest sort of banter is spared him. But at the end with one touch of queer

dignity, Shakespeare and he make the fine gentlemen of the play, who are mirrors of the fine gentlemen in the audience, look pretty small. Consider Sir Nathaniel, the country curate. Mr. Penley in the *Private Secretary* was no greater scandal to the dignity of the Church (though Mr. Penley was too good a comedian not to keep a little dignity in hand), than is Sir Nathaniel attempting to enact Alexander the Great. But when he has been laughed off the mimic stage, hear Costard's apology for him to the smart London ladies and gentlemen his mimic audience:

There an't shall please you; a foolish mild man; an honest man look you, and soon dashed! He is a marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler; but for Alexander—alas, you see how 'tis, a little o'erparted. That does not belong to the plot or the fun-making scheme. Nor is it a thing you learn how to do by following any fashion or going to any school of play-writing, to-day's or yesterday's. But here already in 1591, his age twenty-five, is the true Shakespeare, having his way. Fifty words (not so many), turn Sir Nathaniel the curate (and Costard too), from a stage puppet to a human being, and send you away from the theatre, not only knowing the man, having as we say, 'an idea' of the man, but liking him even while you laugh at him, and feeling, moreover, a little kindlier towards the next man you meet in the street who reminds you of him. This is the Shakespeare who was finally to people, not his little theatre only, but the whole intellectual world for the next three hundred years with figures of his imagining.

Now in *Henry V*, Shakespeare with all his art could not give the King this kind of reality—we find him in his choruses oppressed by the impossibility of the task presented by the chronicle play. We see the result of his discontent, to some extent in the three 'mature' comedies with their scornful titles *As You Like It*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Twelfth Night*, or *What you will*; we see it in the new start he makes with the character of Brutus in *Julius Caesar*, and in its completeness in *Hamlet*, the play in which we feel that he put most of himself and which holds the stage as none other he wrote.

So far Mr. Barker is clearness itself. He proceeds to put a new problem.

Did Shakespeare, when with *Henry V*, he came to the end of all he could find to his purpose in the technique of the drama as his contemporaries and masters

understood it, when passing over that bridge which is *Julius Caesar*, he found in the working out of *Hamlet* the technique best suited to his genius, did he then and thereafter take the wrong road?

'One had better not be too ready with a straight Yes or No', he warns his hearers, and then despite his own warning blurts out the answer: 'Frankly I am for Shakespeare the playwright and Yes', i.e. he did take the wrong road. It is at this point that Mr. Barker, at least to my thinking, stumbles badly by misleading his hearers as to his real opinion. By 'Shakespeare the playwright', he means the Shakespeare who thought about filling the Globe, and he is not really for this Shakespeare, but for the daemon-led genius who invested his characters with such amazing reality as no other dramatist has compassed. Gradually he lets us see that his real meaning is that in *King Lear* and to a less extent in all his later plays Shakespeare did impose on the actors of his day a task for which those 'grave and sober men, living in reputation' as a late seventeenth-century writer called them, were inadequate. This, however, is not Mr. Barker's whole answer, despite the emphatic 'Yes' we have quoted. A little later we find him saying:

Without doubt Shakespeare imagined effects which were never fully achieved in his theatre. But there is a great gulf fixed between this admission and saying that he imagined effects that never could be achieved, saying, in fact, that he ceased altogether to write in the terms of the art he had mastered. Genius is often a destructive force, and the question is a fair one, and we may press it: did Shakespeare in his greatest works enlarge, or trying to enlarge, did he only shatter his medium? Yet before we credit this, think of the masters of other arts—of music especially—whose most mature work was received at best with the respect to which earlier success had entitled them, but with the protest that really these Ninth Symphonies, and these music dramas were but negations of music. But what difficulty do we find in appreciating them now?

From this question it is an easy step to the vision with which the lecture closes of a company of actors, who shall also be scholars, set free from all cramping conditions, to

interpret Shakespeare. They can never interpret him with complete adequacy, but they can approach nearer and nearer. And the effort should be made to bring such a guild of Shakespeare actors into existence:—a very practical note on which to end an amazingly illuminating lecture, my interest in which has led me beyond the limits proper for this paper. I return to bibliography to note that I shrewdly suspect that the touches in *Love's Labour's Lost* to which Mr. Barker calls attention were not written in 1591, if that be the first date of the play, but added on a revision. But he may be right, as he may be right in suggesting that 'the immoderate length of *Richard III* is due to the sheer exuberance of the young man put on his mettle to claim the inheritance of the dead Marlowe's mighty line', or that in *Julius Caesar* 'the decried last act is a masterpiece'. On these questions an actor and playwright should know much better than bibliographers, though there is not much of Marlowe's mighty line in some of the later scenes of *Richard III*.

A. W. P.

History: the quarterly journal of the Historical Association. October 1925. New Series, Vol. x, No. 39. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

HISTORY is always admirable, though it does not often lead off with three such attractive papers as those in this October number by Mr. R. G. Collingwood on 'Hadrian's Wall', Professor Albert Pollard on 'History and the Law', and Professor Neale on 'The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth'. The first of these a bibliographer must be content to read and enjoy without claiming any special right to be interested in it; the last two touch the borders of bibliography, since Professor Pollard is concerned with the problem as to how history can absorb all the new departments of information which are claiming its notice without itself being so overweighted as to lose all

art and become unreadable, and Professor Neale tries to estimate the authenticity of Elizabeth's sayings by tracking down the first record of them and showing what it is likely to have been worth. Bibliography ought to be able to help Professor Neale, while the present writer must plead guilty to a desire to make his namesake's task more difficult by pleading for more consideration from historians of the connexion between what men read in one generation, and what they do in that, or the next. With the excellent 'historical revision' in this number, 'The School of Salerno' by Dr. and Mrs. Charles Singer, bibliographical interest becomes acute, for the learned authors demonstrate (i) that the supposed Salernitan lady writer on medicine, with the attractive name Trotula (profanely shortened to 'Dame Trot') is only a compendious way of speaking of the works of one Trottus, a doctor of Salerno, but 'a mere male'; (ii) that Constantinus Afer (Chaucer's 'Constantyn') was no original genius, but a fraudulent conveyer mainly from the works of Abu Jakuh Ishak ben Suleiman al Israeli, more compendiously known to the Latin West as 'Isaac Judaeus'; (iii) that the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni* was not dedicated to Robert Duke of Normandy, or to any eleventh- or twelfth-century English king, or as other manuscripts profess to a King of Aragon, or King of the Franks, but dates in its present form from the beginning of the fourteenth century and the recension of Arnold of Villanova (1238?-1311), who was probably its compiler. Students of incunabula should note.

The Review of English Studies. Vol. 1. No. 4. October 1925. Sidgwick & Jackson. 3s. net.

THE October number of the *Review* opens with a short article by the late John Semple Smart, Queen Margaret Lecturer in English literature at Glasgow University, in

confutation of the story, lately revived, that Milton caused an edition of *Eikon Basilike* to be printed, with a prayer from Sidney's *Arcadia* inserted in it, in order to pave the way for his subsequent attack. In a paper on *Bibliographical Aspects of some Stuart Dramatic Manuscripts*, Mr. C. J. Sisson urges that the evidence of these plays should be studied as a whole for the explanations they offer as to how disturbances in printed texts may have arisen. Sir Edmund Chambers calls attention to a list in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, of the vassals of Arthur who attended a Pentecost feast at Caerleon upon Usk; he connects these vassals with the Earldoms existing at the time of writing and thereby finds evidence that the *Historia*, which was already in existence in 1139, must have been revised some time after 1142. Among the Reviews the most notable is one of sixteen pages in which Dr. Greg examines Dr. L. Kellner's monograph *Restoring Shakespeare, a critical analysis of the misreadings in Shakespeare's Works*.

A Bibliography of Sierra Leone, preceded by an Essay on the origin, character, and people of the Colony and Protectorate. By HENRY CHARLES LUKE. Second enlarged edition. Oxford University Press, London. Humphrey Milford. 1925. pp. 230. 8s. 6d. net.

If any one contemplating the production of a subject bibliography wishes to know how to make it interesting and alive Mr. Luke's *Bibliography of Sierra Leone* may be recommended as a very helpful model. It begins with an outline of the subject in an essay of some eight thousand words on 'the origin, character and peoples of the Colony and Protectorate'. The bibliography itself comprises some eleven hundred entries, but nearly half the space occupied is given to the 484 classed as general literature, and here under the first edition of each work are described its contents,

often with one or more extracts, the 'Remembrances touching Sierra Leona in August, 1607', from the *Observations* of William Finch, as given in *Purchas's Pilgrims* being quoted in full, though it runs to ten pages. The arrangement of this, as of other sections of the bibliography, is chronological, so that it gives the impressions of the colony which have been published in Europe from 1505 down to the present year. The second section lists the books on the dozen or more native languages in their alphabetical order; the third sets forth the laws and ordinances; the fourth, the articles in journals of societies, &c.; the fifth, the periodicals published in the colony with indications of those still alive, though without dates; then come State and Parliamentary Papers, Maps, Addenda, an Appendix of the successive Chartered Companies and a list of Governors, indexes of subjects and authors, and a map of the colony. There are also four illustrations from photographs by the author. There is no short road to making a good subject bibliography. The first requisite is to be steeped in the subject, and it is noteworthy that Mr. Luke is the 'colonial secretary' of the colony about which he writes. But it is not every one steeped in a subject who has the orderly mind and the imagination which have gone to the making of this little book, and that is why any one contemplating a similar venture will do well to take it as a model.

Wolfgang Mejer. Bibliographie der Buchbinderei-Literatur. 1925. Verlag KARL W. HIERSEMANN. Leipzig. pp. 208.

DR. MEJER's bibliography of bookbinding is arranged under eleven heads, general, history (to 1850), modern bindings, library bindings, publishers' bindings, exhibitions and collections, technique, materials, the enemies of books, the craft. It thus covers the ground very comprehensively, the list in

each section is admirably full, and the titles are as a rule very accurate. The worst slip noted is that in the text, the late H. P. Horne has his surname printed as Home, while only the first edition of his *The Binding of Books* is quoted, not the revision which was issued shortly before his death. The bibliography is excellently printed and should be useful, though its alphabetical arrangement does not invite continuous reading.

A. W. P.

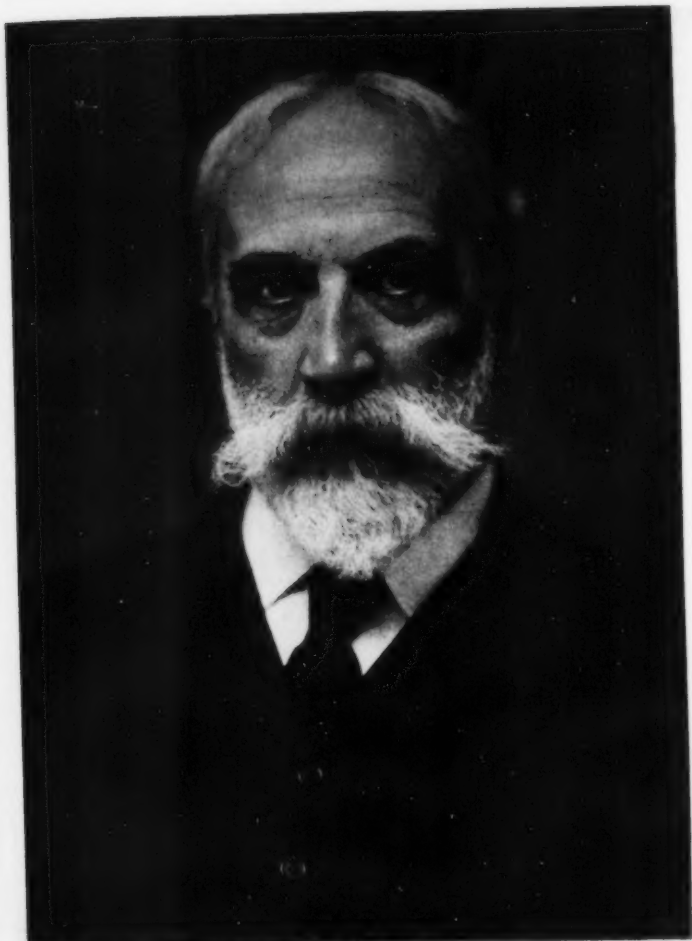
NOTES ON BOOK-BUILDING

THE business of the meeting of the Bibliographical Society on December 21 will be of a rather unusual kind. As a rule one of the members of the Society is asked to provide a paper on a subject which he has specially studied, and though useful points may be brought forward in the discussion, the paper, within the limits which the allowance of something under an hour for its presentation imposes, is expected to be more or less complete. The subject of the ideals which have been, or should be, aimed at in specially careful reprints of old books, for study or enjoyment, is much too large for any complete presentation of it to be possible in an hour, nor has any serious effort been made hitherto either to sketch its history or to distinguish between differing ideals, and discuss the problems to which they severally give rise. On December 21 an attempt will be made, with the help of several contributors, to illustrate the contents of the field which has to be studied, with a view to further work on different sections of it. The severe compression in the titles of papers necessitated by the size of our card of 'Arrangements' has caused the subject to be announced as '*Facsimile*' *Reprints of Old Books*, but the one word facsimile must be understood as including not only

methods of reproducing early editions by various photographic processes, but all attempts to imitate the selected edition by following it page by page, line by line, and letter by letter. As an offshoot from these 'type-facsimiles', as they are called, there is a further group of books to be considered which have lately come to be classed under the general name of 'period printing'. In these the book-builder feels no obligation to reproduce the peculiarities of the first edition of the book he is reprinting, but aims at producing a beautiful book in the style of the period in which it was first published. It will be gathered that the field to be surveyed is no small one. My own concern is mainly with the history of books of these different classes, and I am receiving valuable help from Mr. G. R. Redgrave, especially as to the earliest photolithographic facsimiles. But I shall be very grateful to any members who will send me notes of early examples of any of the methods of reproduction which I have mentioned.

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From a photograph by Mr Donald A MacAlister

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